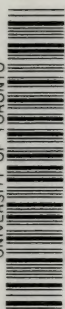



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HISTORY OF THE COLONY

OF THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

FROM ITS DISCOVERY TO THE YEAR 1819

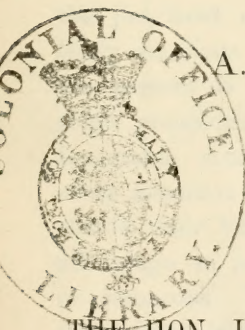
BY

A. WILMOT, ESQ.

FROM 1820 TO 1868

BY

THE HON. JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE, M.L.C



L O N D O N :

LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

CAPE TOWN : J. C. JUTA, WALE-STREET.

1869.

HISTORY OF THE COLONY

OF THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

FROM ITS DISCOVERY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

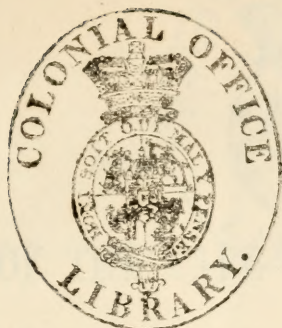
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P R E F A C E.

THE History of the Cape Colony has hitherto appeared only in fragmentary portions illustrative of some particular period, and never in one consecutive form. The object, therefore, of the present compilers was to supply the deficiency in as far as materials were available; how far they have succeeded in doing so must be left to the judgment of the reader. They are themselves perfectly conscious that after all the time and care bestowed, the present is only a "pioneer" work, with, no doubt, some omissions and inaccuracies, for which they crave favourable consideration. They are prepared to give every attention to kindly criticism, however adverse, and should their Volume ever reach another edition, will take advantage to add to or correct what may be wanting or erroneous. With these few words they now submit their joint labour to (what they hope to find) an indulgent Public.



THE

HISTORY OF THE CAPE COLONY.

CHAPTER I.

Legends regarding the Ancient Circumnavigation of Africa—Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese—Bartholomew Diaz—Vasco Da Gama—Visits of Early Navigators—Disastrous Shipwrecks—English East India Company—Possession of the Cape taken by Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert—Sir Thomas Herbert's Account of the Country and the Natives.

THE history of the Cape Colony, to a comparatively recent period, is, in truth, the history of South Africa; and a narrative of the progress of civilization in this vast region cannot fail to be fraught with interest. Nearly 400 years have elapsed since Diaz formally declared Southern Africa an appanage of the Portuguese Crown, and since then events so numerous and interesting have occurred, that it does not seem too much to assert that the history of no other British Settlement is so worthy of attention as that of the Cape Colony. The visits of early navigators, and the labours of pioneer travellers, merit a chronicle, and the contest between the Dutch and English for the possession of the Cape, as well as the mode of government adopted by each, deserve our notice. Honesty of purpose, and the exercise of much labour and patience is required, and the road is rugged because only partially travelled. However, so many portions of it have now been explored by able and trustworthy pioneers, that the work is much less arduous than formerly, and it may be hoped that a connected narrative of some interest can be compiled.

A strange legend exists concerning the circumnavigation of Africa by the Egyptians, which Major Rennell, Professor

Heeren, and Mr. Grote deem credible, but which is disbelieved by Dr. Vincent, Ukert, and Forbiger. It is to the effect that several vessels, manned by Phœnicians, commenced their voyage from the Red Sea, and sailed round Africa, so as to reach Egypt by the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean.* A writer in *Notes and Queries* refers to a passage in Strabo relating to this voyage, and states that Eudoxus, in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes the Second (170—117 B.C.) is reported to have made the attempt. Sir Thomas Herbert in his *Travels* learnedly descants upon this subject, and quotes “a like tradition of two Carthaginians, who at their return reported that they sailed from some part of India to the Atlantique Sea.” If such voyages really did take place, it is quite clear that little gain to geographical knowledge was reaped from them, as we find Strabo describing the entire African Continent as less than Europe, and shaped like a right-angled triangle, the base being the distance of Egypt from the Pillars of Hercules. But it is to be observed that, even in the beginning of the seventeenth century, absurd and incorrect ideas of South African geography were entertained. Samuel Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage* (published in 1611†), says that the Cape “hath three

* The following passage in Herodotus (Melpomene iv. 42) should render us more disposed to believe that Africa was circumnavigated. Speaking of the adventurers sent out by Neco, King of Egypt, from the Red Sea, he says:—“When two years had thus passed, in the third, having doubled the Pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt, and related what to me does not seem credible, but may to others, that as they sailed round Libya they had the sun on their right hand. Thus was Libya first known.” The ancients knew well that—

“A time will come, in ages now remote,
When the vast barrier, by the ocean formed,
May yield a passage; when new continents
And other worlds, beyond the sea’s expanse,
May be explored; when Thule’s distant shore
May not be deemed the last abode of man.”

SENECA MEDEA, l. 375.

† The following curious anecdote is related by this author:—“James Bottellier, a Portugal, to recover the favour of his Prince, John the Third, by the first bringing news of a happy accident that then befell

headlands, the westernmost whereof beareth the name of *Good Hope*, the middlemost *Cape Falso*; between which two capes runneth into the sea a mighty river, called by the Portugals *Rio Dolce*, which springeth out of a lake called *Gale*, situate among the Mountaines of the Moone. The third and easternmost is that of Agulhas or Needles, about five and twentie leagues from the first; both which seem as two hornes, where-with it threatens the ocean, which in those parts is found oftentimes tempestuous, and when it cannot prevail against this rough-faced and horned promontory, it wrekes its whole malice upon the shippes, whose ribbes, in the enraged fittes, it would break if they were of iron, as Linschoten testifieth of his own experience."

It appears that in the ninth century the Arabs were acquainted with the African coast so far south as Delagoa Bay, but it is by no means probable that they extended their voyages to the more southern part of the continent. The Portuguese alone can prove a claim to the discovery of the Cape, as well as to the fame of having led the vanguard of European enterprise by that route to India.

The circumstances connected with the discovery of America, and of the passage round the Cape, are in some respects analogous. It was in the same city (Lisbon), and almost in the same year, that both schemes were concerted. Both projects had the East Indies in view as an ultimate object; Columbus merely finding the American continent in his endeavour, by a western route, to reach India. The results in each case have been of the utmost consequence to commerce, for although Columbus opened a new world to mercantile enterprise, Diaz and Da Gama may be said to

in India, in a little boat or vessel scarce eighteen feet long and six broad, sailed from Cochin to Dabul, and from thence along the Arabian and African shores, doubling this terrible Cape, and missing Saint Helena, came yet safe to Lisbon worthily welcomed but for his message and the messenger that durst adventure to encounter Neptune's strongest forces, notwithstanding so weak furniture."—Quoted in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. i.

have unlocked the gates of the old one, and thrown open for traffic one of the great ocean highways of the world. The lives of Columbus and Diaz were also, in some important points, by no means dissimilar. The former was virtually supplanted by Amerigo Vespucci; the latter by Vasco Da Gama. Both were unfortunate, and treated with ingratitude while living, though commemorated and honoured after death, as if Honour's voice could

“Provoke the silent dust.
Or flattery soothe the dull cold ear of death.”

It is to the zeal and magnanimity of Prince Henry that many writers attribute the glory which has been acquired by the Portuguese discoveries and conquests in the East. In *Knox's Voyages*,* after referring to civil wars, and other disabilities under which Portugal then laboured, the writer proceeds to say:—“This spirit of navigation not only sprung up, but prospered, notwithstanding that many of their statesmen were averse to such undertakings, from the dangers and difficulties that attended them; nor could they, in all probability, have been carried into execution, but from the zeal of the clergy, who, out of a desire of propagating the Christian faith, promoted them to the utmost of their power.” The Infant Don Henry Duke de Visco obtained the Canary Islands from Maçiot de Bethencourt (who held them under the King of Castile) for a valuable consideration, and Ferdinand de Castro was sent to take possession of them, under the idea that they might be of use in the endeavour to discover the coasts of the great Continent of Africa. For this important service, ships were fitted out so early as the year 1410. Prince Henry died in 1463. He was the fourth son of John I., King of Portugal, and the greatest and most enlightened man of his age. He became distinguished at the siege of Ceuta in 1415; but his grand ambition was the prosecution of maritime discovery, and to the furtherance

* Vol. i. p. 238.

of this object he devoted all the energies of his life. At Sagres he erected an observatory, and established a famous school of navigation, and it was expeditions fitted out by him that discovered Madeira in 1418, sailed round Cape Nun in 1433, and at last, in 1440, reached so far south as Cape Blanco. After this period self-supporting societies for the prosecution of discovery were organised under his patronage. Nuno Tristan doubled Cape Verd in 1446, and three of the Azores were seen by Gonsalez Vallo in 1448, and not many years afterwards the Portuguese sailed as far south as Sierra Leone. In one of the treatises prefixed to Mickle's translation of the *Lusiad* (vol. i., p. 47), it is stated that Prince Henry always professed that "to propagate the gospel was the great purpose of his designs and enterprises. Certain it is that the same principles inspired, and were always professed by King Emmanuel, under whom the Eastern world was discovered by Gama."* Diego Cam reached 22° South Latitude in 1484; and a few years previously, Pedrao de Cavalhao had gone from Egypt to the Red Sea, and thence to the East Indies, and back to Sofala, on the East African coast, so that there was every reason to believe, "as well for the reason of the thing, as from the concurring opinion of the seamen conversed with," that a short and easy passage might be found round the Continent of Africa to the Indies.

The prosecution of trade, and the acquirement of riches, as well as the extension of Christianity, were the ruling incentives to maritime discovery. The destruction of the monopoly of Eastern trade enjoyed by the Italian Republics was the chief object which the Portuguese had in view when they fitted out expeditions to sail round Africa to India; and we shall shortly see Holland, in its turn, endeavouring to supplant the new monopoly, by establishing one of its own.

* As to life of Prince Henry, see Barros and Vido do Infante Don Henrico, by Candido Lusitano, translated into French by the Abbe Courmand. A life of Prince Henry, by Major, has recently been published in London.

Bartholomew Diaz, a Portuguese navigator of noble birth, had the honour of commanding the first expedition which doubled the Cape, and it was John II., King of Portugal, whose wisdom and enterprise sent it forth. At the court of this monarch, Diaz was brought into contact with many scientific men, chief among whom was the famous cosmographer, Behaim, who had accompanied Diego Cam to the African coast in 1484. No greater testimony to the ability and knowledge of Diaz could have been conferred than the command of the three vessels which, in 1486, formed under his guidance the humble expedition intended to carry the fame of Portuguese discovery into the Eastern Seas. This great voyage was comparatively uneventful, until, after having sailed very far south, they came in sight of a high cape, near which a dreadful storm was encountered, during which the victualling bark parted company. The crew of the ship commanded by Diaz then mutinied, complaining bitterly that it was too much to endure at one time the hardships of the sea and of famine. Upon this the commander represented to them that the former were not to be escaped by going back, and that the only means of preventing the latter was to proceed till they came to some place where refreshments could be procured. Diaz, like Columbus, had to encounter the violent opposition of his crew when the principal object of the voyage was almost attained, and, like the discoverer of America, only conquered by means of dauntless perseverance and energy.* The Cape was doubled without being seen, and a portion of the eastern coast, as far as the mouth of the Great Fish River, reached. Setting sail again, a storm forced them to take shelter in Algoa Bay, where they anchored on the 14th of September, 1486, and there found the previously missing vessels, whose commanders reported that they had lost a number of their men through the treachery of the natives. So many privations and dangers had been suffered that the title of "Cape of Torments" was considered applicable

* A brother of Columbus accompanied Diaz in this expedition.

to the promontory near which they had been experienced. Subsequently, as an old English writer states, the name of Cape of Good Hope was conferred on it by "John the Second, King of Portugal, for that hope which he conceived of a way to the Indies."

As it was desirable to take formal possession of the country, as well as to commemorate their discovery, a large stone cross was erected by Diaz and his companions upon the little islet in Algoa Bay (close to the mouth of the Sunday's River), ever since named St. Croix. This ocean rock, whose inhabitants are seals and wild fowl, is thus connected with an epoch in South African history, and the cross erected upon it became a landmark of discovery and a symbol of the advent of Christianity and civilization to these shores.

In December, 1487, Diaz returned to Lisbon, and was there received with an enthusiasm more apparent than real, as Vasco Da Gama received the chief command of the great expedition subsequently determined upon, while only a subordinate office in it was allotted to Diaz. But misfortune did not end here. They had only reached the Cape de Verd Islands when his immediate return to Portugal was ordered, and he thus lost the opportunity of reaching India *via* the Cape. Diaz, three years afterwards, sailed to Brazil, and became, with Cabral, one of its discoverers, and eventually, in a great storm on the 29th of May, 1500, found a mariner's grave off that Cape of Storms round which he had been the first to sail. The glory of finding the new highway to the East decidedly belongs to this great mariner—the Southern Ocean, into which he led the way, is his grave, and the Cape, which towers above it, his monument.

Emanuel, surnamed the Fortunate, succeeded John the Second, King of Portugal, in the year 1497. Hernan Lopez de Castanada, a contemporary writer,* states that this monarch, earnest to prosecute what Don John had begun for the discovery of India, "ordered Fernan Lorenzo, treasurer of the house of the Myna (on the

* Quoted in Mickle's translation of *The Lusiad*.

Golden coast) to build, with the timber that was bought in King John's time, two ships, which, after they were finished, he named the *Angel Gabriel*, being of 120 tons burthen, and the *Saint Raphael*, of 100 tons. The transport *Correa* was to go with them to the Bay of St. Blas (Mossel Bay), and there to be unloaded and burnt. Pedro de Alanquer, who had been pilot to Bartholomew Diaz, was appointed to the Admiral's ship *Saint Gabriel*; Nicolas Coello went in the caravel named *Berrio*; Paulus da Gama commanded the *Raphael*; and Gonsalo Gomez the store-ship. A carrack destined for Delmina was placed under the charge of Diaz." Vasco da Gama, the leader of this expedition, was born at Sines, a small seaport of Portugal, and was the scion of a noble family who laid claim to Royal descent. He soon proved himself an intrepid naval commander, and seemed to King John of Portugal a man to whom the conduct of a great enterprise could be intrusted with confidence. Manoel the Fortunate entertained the same opinion, presented personally to Da Gama the flag he was to carry into new seas, and added to his appointment such badges of honour as to give all possible pomp and dignity to the office. Letters to various Eastern potentates, including Prester John and the King of Calicut, were intrusted to Da Gama, and the oath of fealty was taken on the cross. The day before his departure, their leader conducted the members of his expedition to a chapel four miles from Lisbon, where the entire night was spent in devotional exercises. On the following day the beach was crowded with thousands of the inhabitants of Lisbon, who looked upon the adventurous mariners as doomed to certain death. Processions of priests sung anthems and offered up invocations to Heaven for their success, and the expedition of small vessels, manned by only 160 men, sailed out of the Tagus on Saturday, the 8th July, 1497.

When we consider that the previous fleet of Diaz had been harassed by numberless difficulties, and almost destroyed by violent storms encountered in the prosecution of a voyage only half as long as that on which this expedition was about to set out; and when it is

remembered how comparatively inadequate, so far as vessels and equipment were concerned, the means seemed to be to accomplish the object in view, it is impossible to refrain from joining in that enthusiasm which has found an echo in the *Lusiad*, where is worthily commemorated, by the greatest Portuguese poet, the successful discovery of the ocean route to India by the greatest Portuguese discoverer,—

“Arms and the Heroes, who from Lisbon’s shore
Through seas where sail was never spread before,
Beyond where Ceylon lifts her spicy breast,
And waves her woods above the watery waste.”

Off the Canary Islands a severe storm was encountered, during which the *Saint Gabriel* was separated from the other vessels. All, however, met together eight days afterwards at the Cape de Verd Islands, the appointed place of rendezvous, and here it was, as already stated, on the 3rd of August, Diaz was compelled to leave the fleet and return to Portugal.

In their fragile and small vessels they continued the longest voyage yet attempted—

“O’er the wild waves as southward thus we stray,
Our port unknown, unknown the watery way.
Each night we see impressed with solemn awe
Our guiding stars and native skies withdraw.
In the wide void we lose their cheering beams ;
Lower and lower still the Pole star gleams.

* * * * *

Now pressing onward, past the burning zone,
Beneath another heaven and stars unknown.”

But the religious spirit which animated Prince Henry, and sanctified the prosecution of discovery by the hope of winning unknown worlds to the knowledge of Christ, still found a ready response in the hearts of the Portuguese, and enabled them to see a memento of their faith and a sign of hope in the “Southern Cross.”

“While nightly thus the lonely seas we brave,
Another Pole star rises o’er the wave ;
Full to the south a shining cross appears,
Our heaving breasts the blissful omen cheers ;
Seven radiant stars compose the hallowed sign
That rose still higher o’er the wavy brine.”

Throughout the voyage nature seemed to oppose obstacles by a succession of severe storms, so violent as almost to deprive the mariners of hope,* but at last, after they had been nearly four months at sea, Da Gama joyfully descried land, along which the fleet coasted for three days. On the 7th of November a large bay in the present Malmesbury division was entered, and named Angra de Saint Helena. The natives appeared small, black, and ugly; their voices were disagreeable, and the weapons they used were made of “wood hardened in the fire, pointed by the horns of animals.”

A few days after the arrival of the fleet, there appeared about ninety of the inhabitants, some on the sands and others on the mountains, upon which the Admiral landed, with all his men well armed, and, drawing near the shore, threw upon the land little bells, which the natives took up, and some came so nigh as to receive them out of his own hand; when, venturing on shore with his men, he exchanged some red night-caps for ivory bracelets. A few days after above two hundred blacks came down, with twelve oxen and four sheep, and on the Portuguese going ashore they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with several voices. The Admiral, striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men danced along with the natives.†

* “To tell the terrors of the deep untried,
What toils we suffered, and what storms defied,
What rattling deluges the black clouds poured,
What dreary weeks of solid darkness loured,
What mountain surges mountain surges lashed,
What sudden hurricanes the canvas dashed.”

THE LUSIAD, Book v.

† Camoens thus describes the natives—

“My soldiers hastening from the upland wood
Right to the shore a trembling negro brought,
Whom on the forest height by force they caught.
Horror glared in his look, and fear extreme
In mien more wild than brutal Polypheme.
From garments striped with shining gold he turned
The starry diamond and the silver spurned;

Some negroes having been seen lurking behind bushes, treachery was suspected: the Portuguese retired, and subsequently, two pieces of ordnance having been shot off, so terrified the natives that they fled. Faria and Osorius say that the Portuguese caught one or two negroes who were busied in gathering honey on the mountain. They gratified one savage with a red cap, some glasses, and bells, and induced him to bring a number of his companions for the like trifles. Traffic was commenced. Da Gama behaved with great civility, and the fleet was cheerfully supplied with fresh provisions, for which the natives received clothes and trinkets. This agreeable state of matters was at last disturbed in the following manner:—A young Portuguese having been conducted to a hut, and an elegant repast, according to native ideas, in the shape of a sea calf, having been laid before him, he encountered a natural repugnance to eat, and left abruptly. The Hottentots followed him to the beach, where the Portuguese youth was seized with a panic, and called for assistance. Da Gama, who was

Straight at my nod are worthless trinkets brought,
 Round beads of crystal as a bracelet wrought,
 A cap of red, and dangling on a string,
 Some little bells of brass before him ring;
 A wide-mouth'd laugh confest his barbarous joy,
 And both his hands he raised to grasp the toy.

* * * * *

A naked crowd, and black as night their hue,
 Come tripling to the shore: their wishful eyes
 Declare what tawdry trifles most they prize.
 These to their hopes were given and void of fear,
 Mild seemed their manners and their look sincere."

A romantic account of their treachery is given and of the fight that ensued—

"And soon an arrowy and a flinty shower
 Thick o'er our heads the fierce barbarians pour,
 Nor poured in vain; a feather'd arrow stood
 Fixed in my leg, and drank the gushing blood.
 Vengeance as sudden every wound repays,
 Full on their fronts our flashing lightning plays,
 Their shrieks of horror instant pierce the sky,
 And wing'd with fear at fullest speed they fly."

engaged in making a solar observation, was suddenly attacked, and a skirmish ensued, during which the Admiral was wounded in the foot. Afterwards, it is recorded, Da Gama "made himself dreaded whenever the treachery of the natives provoked his resentment."

On the 16th of November the expedition left St. Helena Bay, and shortly afterwards encountered a terrific storm,* during which the sailors mutinied and implored Da Gama to refrain from prosecuting the voyage in an ocean torn by continual tempests. A formidable conspiracy, it is said, was even formed against his life. The leaders of the mutiny were put in irons, and after a few days the storm ceased and they beheld the Cape of Good Hope. They then encountered a south-east wind, stood out to sea, and on the 24th of November entered what has since been named Mossel Bay, and anchored amidst great manifestations of joy. Trumpets were sounded, and as much *eclat* given to their arrival as possible. At some distance inland a collection of huts covered with straw were seen, the miserable owners of which were of a brownish-yellow colour, and seemed to speak the same language as the natives at St. Helena Bay. The Admiral erected a column, bearing the arms of Portugal, surmounted by a cross, which, on his return to the ships, he had the mortification to see the natives destroy. The store ship, now of no further use, was burnt. After a voyage of toil and danger, the country looked beautiful. As they proceeded along the coast, streams of water and herds of cattle were noticed; and parts of the country seemed well wooded.

"Here their sweet scenes the rural joys bestow,
And give our wearied minds a lively glow.
The tenants of the coast, a festive band,
With dances meet us on the yellow sand;
Their brides on slow-paced oxen ride behind
The spreading horns with flowery garlands twined."

* "With such mad seas the daring Gama fought
For many a day and many a dreadful night,
Incessant labouring round the stormy Cape,
By bold ambition led."

Nature smiled a welcome, and our burning November sun and blue skies constantly reminded them how far they were from home. One of the greatest dangers of the voyage had been overcome when the dreaded Cape of Storms was doubled in safety. The exaggerated notions regarding the perils to be encountered here are expressed by Camoens in the symbol of the frightful Spirit of the Cape, who thus addresses the Portuguese—

“ O you, the boldest of the nations, fired
By daring pride, by lust of fame inspired,
Who, scornful of the bowers of sweet repose,
Through these my waves advance your fearless prow.
Hear from my lips what direful woes attend,
And bursting soon shall o’er your race descend,
With every bounding keel that dares my rage,
Eternal war my rocks and storms shall wage.
The next proud fleet that through my drear domain
With daring search shall hoist the streaming vane,
That gallant navy by my whirlwinds tost,
And raging seas shall perish on my coast.
Then he who first my sacred reign descried
A naked corse wide floating o’er the tide.
Each year thy shipwrecked sons shalt thou deplore,
Each year thy sheeted masts shall strew my shore.”*

After Da Gama’s fleet had been driven about by severe storms, more easterly shores were sighted upon Christmas Day,† and named *Tierra de Natal*, in honour of our Saviour’s nativity.

* On the return of Da Gama to Portugal, a fleet of thirteen sail, under the command of Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, was sent out on the second voyage to India, when the Admiral with only six ships arrived. The rest were mostly destroyed by a terrible tempest at the Cape of Good Hope, which lasted twenty days. The day time, says Faria, was so dark that the sailors could scarcely see each other. As already mentioned, the great Bartholomew Diaz was among those who perished.

† “ Now shined the sacred morn, when from the East
Three kings the holy cradled babe address’d,
And hailed him Lord of Heaven. That festive day
We drop our anchors in an opening bay.
The river from the sacred day we name.”

THE LUSIAD, Book v.

It would thus seem that they anchored on the Feast of the Epiphany (Twelfth Day).

It seems strange that the Portuguese Government did not see the advantage of establishing a settlement at the Cape as a half-way place of call for their outward and homeward bound vessels, but exaggerated accounts of the dangers of the Cape induced their mariners to shun it by steering a course to the southward. Although the desirability of establishing a victualling station appears evident, it was not till one hundred and fifty-five years after Da Gama had called that settlers were sent out; and then it was Holland, not Portugal, which organised the expedition.

As the name of Vasco Da Gama is inseparably connected with that of the Cape of Good Hope, it is not out of place to trace his eventful career from the time when he steered eastward from Natal in search of El Dorado. Having touched at various places on the eastern shores of Africa, Da Gama at last reached Melinda, and found the people there comparatively civilized. Here the services of a well-educated pilot were secured, who had been born and educated at Guzerat, in India, and was well acquainted with the compass, astrolabe, and quadrant. Under his guidance, Calicut in India was reached on the 20th May, 1498. The Zamorin,* or Prince of the Coast, proved himself no friend to the Portuguese, and the Arabs, actuated by jealousy, having excited the populace to violence, Da Gama was at last obliged to fight his way out of the harbour. On the homeward voyage several places were touched at, and eventually, in September, 1499, the expedition arrived at Lisbon. Da Gama was received with every mark of distinction and honour. Certain commercial monopolies and indemnities were conferred on him, along with various titles, among which was the right of prefixing "Dom" to his name. Cabral's squadron of thirteen ships, sent to India with the view of establishing settlements there, was followed by a great expedition, consisting of twenty ships, placed under Da Gama's command, which set sail in 1502. The east coast of Africa was reached in safety, and there the settlements

* Zamorin or Zamorim was the title the Portuguese gave him.—See Camoens, Barros, &c.

of Mozambique and Sofala were established. The Portuguese no doubt imagined that this part of Africa offered many more advantages to European commerce than the southern portion of the continent, but events have since proved how mistaken were their calculations. The unhealthy nature of the climate has ever been a most serious drawback, and it is apparent that the high and healthy lands of the interior can be best reached through the southern and temperate regions of the continent. On the way across the Indian Ocean Da Gama captured a large and richly-laden vessel filled with Mussulmans from all parts of Asia, on their way to Mecca. These men being Mahommedans, were mistaken by the Portuguese for Moors, their hereditary and sworn enemies. Labouring under this impression, and actuated by impulse, they set the ship on fire, and it is asserted that the entire crew and passengers, three hundred in number, were burned, with the exception alone of twenty women and children.

Having reached Calicut, the Portuguese bombarded the town, destroyed twenty-nine ships, and forced the Rajah to sue for peace and to pay an enormous fine. The natives were thus overawed, valuable alliances with native princes were secured, and the foundation laid of Portuguese power in India. At the close of 1503 Da Gama returned home with thirteen richly-laden vessels, but from this period, strange to say, he remained unemployed for twenty years. Viceroy after Viceroy was sent out, and Da Gama was forgotten. At last the incapacity of one of those lieutenants caused the old Admiral to again resume command, and in 1524 he once more sailed to India. It is narrated, in proof of his firmness of mind, that when near their destination an unaccountable and alarming agitation of the water terrified the sailors. "Why fear?" said Gama, "the sea trembles before its conquerors." Under his sway the Eastern settlements again began to flourish, but while in the midst of triumphs he was surprised by death at Cochin in December, 1525. It is thus his character is described:—"In Da Gama resolution was combined with prudence and great presence of mind. His justice, loyalty,

honour, and religious fervour distinguished him above most of the great navigators and conquerors of his time.”* The first voyages of this renowned mariner have been commemorated by a great poet, and in the *Lusiad* of Camoens his deeds are worthily sung. Although to Diaz belongs the honour of discovering the gateway of the new ocean high road, it was Gama who first opened it successfully, and prosecuted the entire journey to India. The names of both will ever be inseparably connected with that Cape which was the turning point of their voyages and the monument of their success. It is almost impossible to estimate at its full value the advantages gained by them for Christendom and for civilization. Not only was their discovery the means of opening up new worlds to missionary and commercial enterprise, but it materially helped to check the alarming deluge of Mahommedanism which then threatened Europe. It created a new channel for Eastern enterprise, and considerably diverted the attention of Mahommedans from Western conquests. Their own citadels of strength in the East were attacked, and the Portuguese fought the infidels with as much fury in India as the allied Powers did at Lepanto or Belgrade.

In the year 1500 Cabral, the discoverer of Brazil, entered Mossel Bay, and we have reason to believe that it was about the commencement of this century that the Kafir nations, emigrants from more northern portions of the continent, advanced so far south as the Great Kei River, the present boundary of the Cape Colony on the east. A system of calling at South African ports commenced, and letters were frequently left for the commanders of ships.† Pedro de Nueva, for instance, is recorded to have found, in an old shoe on the Mossel Bay shore, a written description of the state of affairs in Portuguese India, addressed to him by P. de Alayde.

* For full information regarding Vasco Da Gama see Castanpeda and Lafitau *Hist. Conqu. Portugal*; Cooley, *History of Maritime Discovery*; the *Lusiad* of Camoens, and the *Decades* of Barros.

† These were generally placed under large stones, on which suitable inscriptions were carved.

In 1503 Antonio de Saldanha, with a portion of Albuquerque's fleet, visited Table Bay, and gave it his own name. This harbour was called Saldanha Bay till 1601, when Spielberg transferred the title to the bay which still bears it. Some enterprising merchants of Rouen are said to have fitted out several vessels about this time for the voyage to the East, round the Cape, which they placed under the command of M. Gonnevillle. According to the narrative, they experienced a great storm near the Cape of Good Hope, and, after having been driven upon unknown coasts, severe hardships were endured, and the members of the expedition were compelled to return to Europe.

It was in 1510, and on the shores of Table Bay, that Francisco D'Almeida, Count of Abrantes, first Viceroy and Governor-General of Portuguese India, was killed by the natives.* He was the conqueror of Quiloa and Mombassa. It is said that the rudeness of one of his servants provoked a quarrel with the Hottentots. His attendants, much against his will, forced him to march against the blacks. "Ah, whither" (he exclaimed) "will you carry the infirm man of sixty years?" After plundering a number of native huts, the Portuguese returned to their ships, and, when not far from the shore of Table Bay, were attacked by an overwhelming force of natives, who fought so desperately to rescue their children whom the Europeans had seized, that the Viceroy and fifty of his attendants were slain. Sir Thomas Herbert† thus

* "With trophies plumed, behold an hero come,
Ye dreary wilds prepare his yawning tomb:
Though smiling fortune blest his youthful morn,
Though glories' rays his laurel'd brows adorn,
Quiloa's sons and thine Mombaze shall see
Their conqueror bend his laurel'd head to me."

It is thought that D'Almeida was killed near the spot on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, where the Commercial Hall now stands. The wizards of Cochin had predicted that he would never pass the Cape.

† *Some Years' Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great.* By Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart. London, 1677. Page 91. It will be observed that this author fixes the date at 1510. "Hall's Chronology" states it to be 1508.

quaintly describes the event:—"Almeyda, one of the bravest captains the Portugalls ever had, after many gallant achievements in Asia and Afric, returning, anno 1510, out of India, he, with eleven experienced captains and other gallants, upon a small affront putting some of the savages to death (who grew desperate in revenge), were unexpectedly set upon by those naked barbarians, who had the arma antiqua—that is, manus, ungues, dentes, and slain were every man of them." Kolben, writing upon this subject, says:—"The Portuguese, mortified at this disgrace, vowed revenge, and, knowing what a value the natives set on brass, landed a large brass cannon, loaded with several heavy balls, and to the mouth fastened two long ropes. The Hottentots, as directed, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, and then a great body of them extended in two files full in the range of the shot, when, the cannon being suddenly discharged, a terrible slaughter was made." This story does not seem by any means probable, and the source from which it is derived (*Kolben's Travels*) is enough to throw doubt upon it.* The Portuguese had subsequently to lament the miserable death in South Africa of another of their Eastern Governors—Don Emanuel de Souza, who had been several years Governor of Diu in India, had amassed great wealth, and was returning to Portugal with his beautiful young wife—Leonora de Sa. The vessel contained five hundred men, and all De Souza's riches were on board. According to the narrative, the ship was dashed "upon the rocks at the Cape of Good Hope," and one hundred men perished. Don Emanuel, his lady, and three children, with the remainder of the crew, marched into the country, which seemed to them to be a desert. Some died of famine, others perished from fatigue, and many were killed by the natives. The unfortunate Donna Leonora was above all to be pitied. Her husband soon displayed signs of insanity, and, amid the stupor of grief, madly gave up to the savages the arms of himself and his company. No

* See Barrow's opinion of Kolben's work, in his *Travels in Southern Africa*.

sooner had this been done than the blacks barbarously stripped the Europeans of their clothes, and left them to die of exposure and want. The tenderly-nurtured and delicate lady was exposed to the brutal insults of the natives, and, after having travelled some distance, her legs swelled, while her feet bled at every step. Having used the last remnant of her strength to cover herself up to the neck in sand, she beheld two of her children expire, and then God permitted Donna Leonora's sufferings to terminate. Her last sigh was breathed in her husband's arms, who then, snatching up the remaining child, ran distractedly into the thickest bush, and soon fell a prey to wild animals. The Portuguese must have travelled in an easterly direction, as the survivors (only twenty-six in number) subsequently arrived at an "Ethiopian" village, whence they found a passage to the Red Sea.*

The last surviving vessel of the famous squadron of Ferdinand Magalhaens is said to have called at the Cape in 1522, and there is some reason to believe that, a few years afterwards, the Portuguese tried to form a settlement on Robben Island. If an attempt, however, were really made, it was of such a character as to prove that the Portuguese Government took no real interest in its success.

The first English account of the Cape is from the pen of the Rev. Thomas Stephens, a Catholic priest, who was wrecked at Agulhas in 1579. The ship was a Portuguese vessel bound to Goa. This clergyman speaks of the country as full of tigers and savage people, who kill all strangers.

* Jerome de Cottereal has written an affecting poem on this disastrous shipwreck—see also Faria and Barros. In Book v. of the *Lusiad* it is referred to in the passage commencing—

"The howling blast ye slumbering storms prepare;
A youthful lover and his beauteous fair,
Triumphant sail from Indie's ravaged land;
His evil angel leads him to my strand—
Through the torn hulk the dashing waves shall roar.
The shattered wrecks shall blacken all my shore;
Themselves escaped, despoiled by savage hands,
Shall naked wander o'er the burning sands."

The English East India Company was not established until the year 1599, and we find that, eight years previous to that period, British mercantile enterprise began to take advantage of the route to India by the Cape. In 1591 three ships, named the *Penelope*, *Royal Merchant*, and *Edward Bonaventura*, left Plymouth, under Captain Raymond as admiral. The *Penelope* having unfortunately been lost at sea, the chief command of this expedition devolved upon Captain James Lancaster, who anchored in Table Bay (Agoada de Saldanha) on the 3rd of August, 1591. The natives were evidently frightened, as, although at first they saw a few, during fifteen days none made their appearance. At last some of the crew engaged in hunting found a negro, whom they so prepossessed by kindness and presents that he brought thirty or forty of his countrymen with oxen and sheep. The flesh of the former was rank and disagreeable, while the latter are described as fat, with extremely large tails, and covered with hair instead of wool. There were large numbers of penguins and seals on Robben Island. Antelopes and many wild animals, including large baboons, were noticed on the shore. The rocks along the beach abounded with mussels and other shell-fish.

The entire success of Portuguese enterprise in the Indian seas induced the Dutch to consider the advisability of breaking through their monopoly, and obtaining at least a share of the commercial advantages to be derived from a trade with the East *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope. For upwards of ninety years Portuguese ships only had borne the spices and silks of India to Europe. The Moluccas, China, Japan, Cochin, and Ceylon, had all become tributaries to the increasing stream of commerce which bore wealth to their shores.

The many unsuccessful attempts which had been made by the Dutch to discover a north-east passage from the European seas to China, made them despair of success in this direction; so that no alternative remained but to follow the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope

to India. To quote Mr. Justice Watermeyer* :—"An unimportant incident in Portugal, the imprisonment for debt, or, according to some, for political indiscretion, of a Dutch merchant in Lisbon, determined this course. Cornelius Hautman, a native of Gouda, a man of considerable sagacity, had, during his residence in Portugal, found means to inquire diligently into the mysteries of the Indian commerce, jealously concealed from all foreigners, and the sources whence the Portuguese derived their untold wealth. He deemed justly that the possession of this knowledge would be highly valued by his countrymen in Holland, and offered to some traders of Amsterdam, if his release were purchased, to communicate the precious information which his curiosity and observation had enabled him to gain, and to pilot them to the land of fortune. His proposal accepted, his debts discharged, and his liberty secured, he gladly adhered to his promise. His revelations excited to the highest pitch of enthusiasm the minds of those to whom he owed his escape from incarceration. In the following year a squadron of four ships left Holland, under the auspices of the 'Association of Distant Lands,' for the East Indies, under the command of Jan de Molenaar, the commercial management of the expedition being entrusted to Hautman. These were the first Dutch ships that anchored in Table Bay, and the fruit of the voyage was an alliance with the King of Bantam in Java,—the foundation of the Dutch power in the East." An English pilot, named John Davis, who accompanied a Dutch fleet which visited Table Bay in 1598, has furnished an account of the mode of trading adopted, as well as a description of the natives. He states that the Hottentots, having been aggrieved by some injury, absented themselves for three days, and during that time alarmed the country by lighting large fires on the mountains. At the expiry of that period the natives returned with a large number of cattle, and when the

* *Lectures on the Cape of Good Hope*, page 3. See also *Verhaal der O. I. Compagnie*, and *Du Bois' Vies des Gouverneurs Generaux*, quoted by this author.

Dutch came near them for the purpose of barter, attacked them so suddenly and furiously, that they fled to the beach and immediately embarked.

In 1601 the English East India Company fitted out several ships for the Eastern trade, including the *Dragon*, of 600 tons, commanded by Captain James Lancaster, the *Hector*, of 300 tons, the *Susanna*, and the *Guest*. Saldanha (Table) Bay was named one of the places of rendezvous, and here they arrived on the 9th of September, 1601. The natives furnished cattle in exchange for knives, nails, and other trifles; only certain persons appointed were permitted to trade with them, and peace and goodwill prevailed. The sick were brought on shore and housed under canvas. The captain commanding displayed his ingenuity in communicating with the natives his desire for oxen and sheep, by imitating the cries of those animals. The scale of prices was the following:—For each ox, two pieces of old iron hoop, eight inches long; and one piece of the same size for each sheep. At this rate, no fewer than one thousand sheep, and forty-two oxen were purchased in twelve days. At the end of this time, however, the natives discontinued bringing any, which caused “the English to presume that they suspected their settling there.” Perhaps, however, these children of nature thought that they had given sufficient cattle for old iron hoops, and began to suspect that they were losers by such commercial transactions.

It was in 1601 that Paulus van Corniden touched at St. Sebastian's Bay, and afterwards visited a small inlet which he named Vleesch Bay, in consequence of his having succeeded in obtaining a number of cattle there. Another harbour was called Visch Bay, because of their success in fishing. The Dutch Admiral, Spielberg or Spielbergen, called at St. Helena Bay in 1601, and afterwards gave the name of “Elizabeth” to what has since been named Dassen or Rabbit Island. It was on this voyage that he changed the name of Saldanha Bay to its present appellation, “Table Bay.” While there he found it impossible to obtain any supplies, but

succeeded in getting sheep and penguins on Robben Island.

The Cape was now a place of call for the vessels of all nations. Table Bay was visited in 1607 by Davis, the famous Arctic voyager, and in 1608 by the Dutch Admiral Cornelius Maaklof, who is reported to have left a number of rams and ewes on Robben Island; Henry Middleton* touched here in 1607 and 1609, Sir E. Mechalborne in 1605, Captain Sharpey anchored in Table Bay in 1608,† Captain Keelay, or Kealing, in 1609, when he took from Robben Island "some of the fattest sheep he ever saw," and left lean ones in exchange.

The formation of a settlement on Robben Island, which, it is stated, the Portuguese attempted about the year 1525, was apparently tried on a small scale by Britain in 1614, when Captain Peyton brought there ten men, sentenced at the Old Bailey, in London, to banishment for crime. This was done at the request of the English East India Company, with a view, no doubt, to the passing ships being supplied with refreshments; but, as might have been expected from the character of the men, they quarrelled

* General Sir Henry Middleton wrote an account of his voyage. He speaks of finding Dutch ships in Table Bay, whose crews were employed in obtaining oil from seals.

† Sharpey found 400 head of cattle, fowls, plenty of fish, and of fresh water. The inhabitants are described as very beastly, especially in their feeding, eating guts and garbage,—nay, the seals which the English had cast into the river, after lying there for fourteen days—after they were putrefied and swarmed with maggots, as well as stunk most intolerably.

Captain Nicholas Dorniton, who visited the Cape in the *Peppercorn*, in 1609, with Middleton's fleet, writes that Table Bay was formerly "a comfortable retreat for the English, both outward and homeward bound," but laments a change for the worse, and attributes it to the depredations of the Dutch. In a subsequent voyage Dorniton landed a Hottentot called Koree who had been taken to England and treated there with every kindness. He became home-sick, however, and the East India Company consequently sent him back. On his return he cast aside the fanciful armour in which he had been trussed, and returned to the society and habits of his savage race. Afterwards, he made himself useful by endeavouring to obtain refreshments for English ships.

with the natives, and endeavoured to escape. The leader, named Cross, was killed, four of their number were drowned in trying to reach an English vessel, and three managed to escape home, where they were subsequently executed for theft.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the attention of Holland was specially attracted to Eastern commerce, in consequence of the success of the expedition commanded by Jan de Molenaar, which had set out in 1595 under the direction of "The Association of Distant Lands." Companies were established at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middelberg, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuysen, all of which eventually joined a partnership, that obtained a charter on the 20th March, 1602, and became subsequently famous as the Netherlands General East India Company.

In spite of the edict of Philip II., King of Spain, ordering that any inhabitant of the United Provinces who engaged in the Indian trade should be put to death, the best efforts of the Dutch were directed to obtain success in it; and, as a means to this end, we find that on the 19th of August, 1619, the Chamber of Seventeen declared that it was advisable to found a fort at the Cape of Good Hope, "for the assurance of the refreshment necessary to the navigation of India, and the preservation of the seafaring people, which is of much importance."

Holland not only succeeded in wresting commercial pre-eminence in the East from the Portuguese, but also held it for many years against all comers. The imbecility of the Government of England under James I., and the civil wars between Charles I. and the Parliament, crippled British enterprise. Still, as we have seen, English fleets were in the field, and it is now necessary to chronicle the circumstances connected with the formal assumption of dominion over the Cape of Good Hope, made on behalf of that nation by two commanders in the fleet of the English East India Company. These officers, named Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert, after a consultation on the 3rd of July, 1620, erected the British flag on the shores of

Table Bay, and declared that they took possession in the name of King James.

The reasons assigned by them for this step are worthy of being recorded, although they do not seem to have had any weight with the Home Government. Britain then, and subsequently, could not perceive the value of the Cape of Good Hope in connection with Indian trade, an importance not exaggerated in the conference between Lord Malmesbury and M. de la Croix, when the latter remarked, "If you are masters of the Cape and Trincomalee, we shall hold all our settlements in India, and the Isles of France and Bourbon, entirely at the tenure of your will and pleasure; they will be ours only as long as you choose we shall retain them; you will be sole masters in India, and we shall be entirely dependent on you."* A document preserved in the archives of the East India Company† contains the remarks, &c., of Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert. The following is their proclamation:—

"James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.: Know all men by the present publication hereof, that according to our bounden duties to our Sovereign Lord the King, James, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, &c., and the State;

"We, Andrew Shillinge and Humphrey Fitzherbert, chief commanders of the two fleets at present bound for Surat and Bantam, &c., upon a good consideration, and by a consultation holden on shore, the 1st of July, 1620, of both fleets on the coast of Africa, in the Bay of Saldania (Table Bay) aforesaid, for and in the name of the said high and mighty Prince James, and for and in the name of the whole continent near adjoining, so far to be extended as that at present no Christian Prince or Potentate have any fort or garrison for plantation within the limits aforesaid; and our Sovereign Lord the King to be thereunto entitled Lord or Prince, or by any other name or title whatsoever that shall seem best unto his gracious wisdom.

"Dated, proclaimed, executed, and subscribed in the Bay of Saldania, the third day of July, 1620.

(Signed) "HUMPHREY FITZHERBERT.
"ANDREW SHILLINGE."

* *Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa*, vol. ii., page 218.

† Quoted by Barrow, in the first edition of his *Travels in Southern Africa*.

What follows is an extract from their remarks :—

“ Notwithstanding all which, may it please your worships to be certified, that we whose names are hereunto subscribed, tending His Majesty's supremacy and sovereignty more than our own safety, and falling into the consideration of the conveniency of the Bay of Saldania, by us so called, situated and being in the latitude of 34° or thereabouts, south latitude, for the better prosecution of your trade to the East Indies, upon a full and general consultation holden on shore by both your fleets, now bound for Surat and Bantam, the first day of July, in the year of our Lord 1620, have fully agreed to take possession of the said Bay of Saldania, for and in the name of our Sovereign Lord the King, James, by the Grace of God, &c., and for and in the name of the whole continent near adjoining, so far to be extended as that no Christian Prince or Potentate have at present any fort or garrison for plantation within the limits aforesaid, as by a deed published, executed, and subscribed in the said Bay of Saldania, the third day of July, 1620, herewith sent, your worships more plainly may appear: which deed was published with great solemnity before the English and the Dutch, who seemed likewise much to approve the same. And in token of possession taken as aforesaid, and in memorial hereafter, we have placed a heap of stones on a hill lying west-south-west from the road in the said Bay, and call it by the name of King James his Mount. (This hill is that subsequently called the Lion's Rump or Signal Hill.) The main and principal reasons which induced us to do this without order are many. First, at our arrival in the Bay, we found nine great ships of the States ready to sail for Bantam, who declared to us plainly that the States did mean to make a plantation here the next year, and that they had taken a view of the Bay, and made a road in the country already some thirty or forty miles, &c., meaning, as we suppose, and it is not to be doubted, to make us hereafter pay for our water and anchorage, towards defraying their intended plantation. Likewise this great country, if it were well discovered, would be kept in subjection with a few men and little charge, considering how the inhabitants are but naked men, and without a leader or policy. We also thought to entitle the King's Majesty thereto by this weak means rather than let it fall for want of prevention into the hands of the States, knowing very well that His Majesty is able to maintain his title by his hand against the States, and by his power against any other Prince or Potentate whatsoever; and better it is that the Dutch, or any other nation whatsoever, should be his subjects in this place than that his subjects should be subject to them or to any other. To which may be added the practice of all men, at all times and in all places, in the like cause entitling their sovereigns to be Governors where no Government is already instituted. Many more particulars might be alleged, as the certain refreshing of your fleets quickly acquired out of your own means by plantation, and to be hoped for from the blacks when a Government is established to keep them in awe. The whale fishery besides persuades

us that it would be profitable to defray part of your charges. The fruitfulness of the soil, together with the temper of the air, assures us that the blacks, with the time, will come in for their ease, and of necessity."

Many years were, however, yet to elapse before any European country thought it worth while to form a permanent settlement. It is stated certainly that the French endeavoured to found a colony at the Cape about the year 1630. But, even if the narrative of the attempt be correct,* it was of such a character and so futile that it scarcely deserves notice. Voyagers continually called, and the Dutch fleets organised a post-office of the most primitive description. Large stones, with the names of ships and officers engraved upon them, were left at certain spots, and under these despatches and letters were concealed. Similar means of communicating with each other were adopted by the Portuguese and English. Why Table Bay was preferred to other harbours is a question which may naturally be asked, and the probable answer to it is, that here the Amstel or fresh river ran into the sea, and abundance of most excellent water was always to be found, as well as supplies of cattle and sheep, while at Saldanha Bay no water was procurable. The natives were well disposed to barter and trade with strangers.

Sir Thomas Herbert, Bart., whose travels have already been referred to, visited Table Bay in July, 1626, and his account of the country and natives is worthy of attention. It is one of the earliest descriptions of the Cape of Good Hope, and is from the pen of an educated Englishman.† This writer says:—" July 1st, 1626, we came to an anchor in Saldania (Table) Bay, so called from Antonio Saldania,

* See *Valentyn's History of the East Indies*. According to this writer, the Chevalier who commanded the expedition immediately commenced by entering into hostilities with the Hottentots, and firing upon them. The natives rallied, assembled in overwhelming force, killed the French commander, and drove his followers away.

† There is a copy of this work in the South African Library, Cape Town. One of the pictures represents "a man and a woman at the Cape of Good Hope." In the back-ground is a representation of Table Bay, where the mountains are named:—Herbert's Mount, the Table, Sugar Loaf, and King James's Mount.

a Portuguese, who being by King Eman sent with three ships after Alberquerque, through stress of weather was forced into this bay. It is twelve leagues short of that great Cape which meritoriously is now called of Good Hope. To the Table (Mountain) seamen for their recreation ordinarily climb up. Most sweet and wholesome water is to be found here, which was a great refreshing to our scorched entrails." Sir Thomas is evidently very fond of displaying his learning, and descants in the most profound manner upon the ancient circumnavigation of Africa. He then descends to the *terra firma* of the Cape, which he thus describes:—"The soil here is exceeding good. Among herbs I saw betony, mint, calamint, sorrel, scabious, spinage, thime, carduus benedictus, and colocintida. The Hebrews have a proverb, 'There is not an herb upon the earth but has his mazall or star answering it, and saying, grow.' I know not how true that is, but here they prosper. The rivers yield trent, pike, pickrill, tench, eel. The country withal affords plenty of beasts of sundry sorts, as buffalos and cows, which are large, but lean and hunch-backed; sheep with long ears like hounds, much unlike those in Europe; apes and baboons of extraordinary size and colour; lions, panthers, pards, jackals, wolves, dogs, cats, hares, and zebrae, as also elephants and camels, which three last we saw not; and Garceas Hort, physician to the Viceroy of Goa, reports that he saw unicorns here, headed like a horse, if the zebrae deceive him not."*

* The question as to whether or not unicorns have existed in Africa has received the serious attention of Barrow, who in his *Travels in Southern Africa* (vol. i., page 275), brings forward the following evidence on the subject:—"Adrian van Versveld, of Camdeboo, in Graaff-Reinet, shot an animal a few years ago at the point of the Bamboosberg, that was entirely unknown to any of the colonists. The description he gave to me of it in writing, taken, as he said, from a memorandum made at the time, was as follows:—The figure came nearest to that of the quagga, but of a much larger size, being five feet high, and eight feet long: the ground each side of the head, eleven of the same kind between the neck and colour yellowish, with black stripes; of these were four curved ones on shoulder, and three broad waved lines running longitudinally from the shoulder to the thigh;

Ascending in the scale of creation, Sir Thomas now proceeds to describe the natives, who, "being propagated from Cham, both in their visages and natures seem to inherit his malediction. Their faces be very thin and their limbs well proportioned, but by way of ornament pinkt and cut in several shapes, as fancy guides them. Some, by way of dress, shave their skull; others have a tuft atop; but some, instead of shaving, have several other dresses for the head, as spur rowels, brass buttons, pieces of pewter, beads of many sorts, which the mirthful sailor exchanges for mutton, beef, herbs, ostrich egg-shells, tortoisés, or the like. Their ears are extended by links of brass, stones, broken oyster shells, and like ponderous bables; their armes and legs loaden with voluntary shackles of copper; and about their necks they wear the raw guts of beasts. They wear a thong of leather, or a lion or panther's skin, about their waist; others naked only. Upon their feet they have a sole or piece of leather, tied with a leather strap, which, while these Hottentots were in our company, their hands held, their feet having thereby the greater liberty to steal, which with their toes they can do exactly, all the while looking us in the face, the better to deceive. They have plenty of locusts brought

mane short and erect: ears six inches long, and striped across; tail like the quagga; on the centre of the forehead was an excrescence of a hard bony substance, covered with hair, and resembling the rudiments of a horn; the length of this with the hair was ten inches.' About the same time, Tjardt van der Walt, of Olifant's River, in Swellendam, in company with his brother, saw, near the same place, an animal exactly of the shape of a horse, and somewhat larger than a quagga. Martinus Prinslo, of Bruintje's Hoogte, saw behind the mountain several wild horses entirely different from either the quagga or the zebra, and the missionary Van der Kemp mentions a streaked horse of incredible swiftness, which is called by the Hottentots *kamma*; and he adds that the Imbo (a nation residing north-east of Kafirland) confirm the report of a unicorn existing in that part of the country. They represent it as a very savage animal; they are horribly afraid of it, and it sometimes overturns their kraals, and destroys their houses. They say that it has a single horn placed on the forehead, which is very long, and that it is entirely distinct from the rhinoceros, with which they are well acquainted." Several intelligent writers on South Africa have since referred to this subject.

hither by the winds, which, being sprinkled by salt, they eat greedily: the truth is, they would commonly violate the graves of those dead men we buried and feed upon their carcases. But among these brutes, albeit they have plenty of dead whales, seals, penguins, grease, and raw puddings, which we saw them tear and eat as dainties, for they neither roast nor boil, yet do they no less covet to destroy such as, through old age or sickness, are not able to provide for themselves, leaving them upon some mountain destitute of help. And here the women give suck, the uberous dug being stretched over the shoulder. These may be said to be the descent of satyrs. During the time that I stayed among them I saw no signs of any knowledge of God. Anno 1600, Sir James Lancaster landing here, had one thousand sheep and fifty oxen for bables, and might have had more in plenty had not our emulous neighbours, the Dutch, after some disgust given the natives, rode with our colours out, which made them the less amicable to us. Cory, a savage brought thence to England in the year 1614, when, being civilized, he returned in a few years to this country, entering the woods in a copper-gilt armour, instead of a kind reception they butchered him. The cattle they sold us, had they not been secured by tying their heads to some stakes, would break after the savages upon one man's whistle. We found that a dozen muskets would chase one thousand, at every discharge falling down thunderstruck. To sum up their character, with that which Salvian, *libro de vero judicio*, gives of other Africans, when he says they are '*inhumani, impuri, ebriosi, falsissimi, fraudulentissimi, cupidissimi, perfidissimi, et obscenis libidinum omnium, impuritati et blasphemis addictissimi, &c.*;' and for a farewell take that which Leo gives the Libyans—'They have no letters, faith, nor law, living (if it be a life) like wild beasts for ignorance, like devils for mischief, and like dogs for poverty.' "

CHAPTER II.

Wreck of the Dutch ship *Haarlem*—Jansz and Proot's Memorial to the Dutch East India Company, recommending a settlement at the Cape—Resolution of the Chamber of XVII.—Despatch of the Expedition under Van Riebeeck—Arrival of the first Settlers—Detail of first events.

THE Dutch ship *Haarlem*, bound home from India, was wrecked in Table Bay in the year 1648, and the crew had to await for five months the arrival of the outward-bound fleet from Holland. During this period they had opportunities of observing the country in the immediate neighbourhood, and of making themselves acquainted with the habits and dispositions of the natives. According to their report, the "Ottentoots" were humane and kind, and disposed to trade in perfect friendship. Two of these shipwrecked seamen, named Leendert Jansz and Nicolaas Proot, after they had returned to Holland, addressed a memorial to the directors of the Dutch East India Company, strongly urging the desirability of establishing a "fort and garden" at the Cape of Good Hope. In this "Remonstrance"* they denied that the natives were savages or cannibals, and exceedingly treacherous, asserted that they only killed Europeans in defence of themselves or their cattle, and in order to prove that Dutchmen even were often to blame, stated that, in the previous year, when the fleet under the command of Wollebrandt Geluyssen lay at the Cape, seven or eight cattle were shot and taken away without payment. It seems rather strange, however, if the natives were so friendly, that these mariners found it necessary to throw up a fort for their defence, and to live continually under its protection; while the assertion that the Hottentots were not savages betrays a stronger desire to give weight to their arguments than to adhere to the truth. We shall see that in the time of Van Riebeeck, when these children of nature were

* Published in *Moodie's Records*.

comparatively free from the "vices of civilization," treachery and barbarity were as much their characteristics as they have been those of all uncivilized races in every age. Jansz and Proot naturally expressed surprise that neither the Spanish nor Portuguese had as yet made any attack at the Cape upon the Dutch ships returning from the East with valuable cargoes, as eight or ten vessels of war kept there on the watch might easily capture or destroy them all. The fruitfulness of the soil, the abundance of cattle, and the advantage to be derived from a whale fishery, are specially referred to, and they add:—"We say, therefore, that the Honourable Company, by the formation of a fort or redoubt, and also of a garden of such size as may be practicable or necessary at the above-mentioned Cabo de Boa Esperanza, upon a suitable spot in Table Valley, stationing there, according to your pleasure, sixty to seventy as well soldiers as sailors, and a few persons acquainted with gardening and horticulture, could raise, as well for the ships and people bound to India as for those returning thence, many kinds of fruit, as will hereafter be more particularly demonstrated." An establishment for barter seems also to have been one of the principal objects in view, and, to make their arguments complete, it is urged that, "by maintaining a good correspondence with them" (the natives), "we shall be able in time to employ some of their children as boys and servants, and to educate them in the Christian religion, whereby the erection of the contemplated fort and garden will tend not only to the gain of the Company and the saving of many lives, but to the magnifying of God's holy name." As the Chamber of Seventeen had in 1619 adopted a resolution declaring the advisability of establishing a fort at the Cape of Good Hope, very little argument was required to prove the necessity of carrying out their own determination. The "remonstrance" of Jansz and Proot was referred to Jan van Riebeeck, who had in 1649 visited the Cape as a surgeon in the fleet of Geluysen. The report of this officer, dated June, 1651, adverts to his "three weeks' experience" on shore in Table Bay, and strongly recom-

mends the proposed expedition. He repeats most of the arguments already made use of, but distinctly declares that he has no confidence whatever in the honesty and fidelity of the Hottentots, saying, "Although Leendert Jansz does not appear to entertain much apprehension of interruption from the natives, provided only they are well treated, I say, notwithstanding, that they are by no means to be trusted, but are a savage set, living without conscience, and therefore the fort should be rendered tolerably defensible. I have often heard, from men deserving of credit, that our people have been slain by them without giving the slightest cause." The truth is that unjustifiable acts were committed both by Europeans and natives. The former were often unjust, and the latter were always treacherous and cruel. On one occasion the Hottentots were attacked, several of them murdered, and numbers of cattle forcibly taken possession of by Dutch traders, and at another time a battle was fought with the Namaquas, which lasted for three days, when the natives fled to the mountains, and thence repulsed the Dutch with arrows, assegais, and stones.

After Van Riebeeck's report was written, the Dutch East India Company lost no time in establishing a fort and garden at the Cape, and this the more readily in order to anticipate the English, Portuguese, and French, in the formation of a permanent settlement. The following extract of "Instructions" from the Chamber of Seventeen to the officers of the expedition, clearly shows the object and intention of the company :—

"That the board had for the benefit and protection of their trade resolved to form at the Cape of Good Hope an establishment *for the refreshment of their ships*. That, on the arrival of the expedition, a part of the people should land and erect a temporary building of wood, for shelter, and wherein they might deposit their various implements. That they should further construct a small defensive fort at the Fresh River, according to a plan already prepared; that it should be called the *Good Hope*, and should be sufficiently extensive to lodge from seventy to eighty men. That, this being effected, they should select the best ground for gardens, and the land most adapted to pasture, for the purpose of breeding cattle. That each individual should consider himself called upon, in the most impressive manner, not to molest the

natives, nor take away their cattle, but, on the contrary, to gain their confidence by kind and friendly treatment. That, as *the main object in establishing this fort was to obtain a place for refreshment, and to enable vessels to pass to St. Helena*, it should be particularly observed what description of fruits could be best cultivated, consistently with the climate and seasons. That the people should be governed according to the General Artikel Brief, to which they had sworn; and that they should not be allowed to waste their time in idleness. That the commander should keep a journal, and endeavour to discover some means for defraying the expenses which might be incurred. That as soon as the fort was in a state of defence, seventy men and the boats should be taken from the ships, to assist in building, and other necessary works, particularly in making a wooden beacon, or something of that description, to point out the anchorage to vessels entering the bay; and that they should also plant four pieces of cannon upon each point of the fort."

The Directors of the Dutch East India Company appointed Van Riebeeck leader of the expedition; and three ships, named the *Dromedary*, *Heron*, and *Good Hope*, were fitted out. On the 14th December, 1651, the commander and his family embarked on board the first-named vessel, and on the 23rd of the same month they all set sail. "On the 5th of April, 1652," Van Riebeeck states in his journal,* "about the fifth glass of the afternoon, we got sight, God be praised, of the land of the Cabo de Boa Esperanza." The next day (6th April) they could have entered Table Bay, but, fearing hostile ships might be there, the purser, Adam Hulsten, and the second mate, Adam van Steveren, were dispatched with the sloop towards the foot of Lion's Rump (Staart van Leeuwenberg), with orders, in rounding the point, to find out whether there were any vessels in Table Bay. These men having reported that there were no ships to be seen, the fleet proceeded with a fair southerly breeze, which arose just after sunset. On the

* Frequent references will be made to this journal. The chief authorities for this portion of history are:—Van Riebeeck's Journal; Moodie's Records; Historical Account of the Formation and Progress of the European Colony at the Cape of Good Hope, by the Rev. M. Borchards; Articles and Extracts on early Cape History in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*; Mr. Justice Watermeyer's Lectures on the Government of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape; Accounts of Early Travellers; Hall's Chronology.

next morning, Van Riebeeck beheld the white sands of the Blaauwberg coast and the green plains extending down from Table Mountain. The peaks of the Hottentots Holland range bounded the inland horizon, and the settlers, who had so long been tossed about at sea, expressed delight on arriving at their new home, whose hilly shores seemed to hold out arms of welcome to receive them. The *Promedary* and the *Good Hope* anchored opposite the Fresh River, and the *Heron* remained outside till the next day (7th April) when Capt. David de Konink was sent on shore with a boat's crew and six armed soldiers to search for letters, and to obtain for the use of the sick a supply of herbs and fish. He found a box of letters left by Jan van Teylingen, the commander of the homeward-bound fleet. From these despatches it appeared that such difficulty had been experienced in obtaining supplies from the natives, that Teylingen was obliged to go on to St. Helena. In his letter to the captains of the other ships, this commander says:—"We have obtained here only one cow and one sheep for refreshment, though abundance of both has been seen inland by the crew; but this savage, unreasonable people will bring us no more than what has been mentioned. God grant that you may have better luck. P.S.—You may freely set the horses on shore which you have on board, and desire the Ottentoo who speaks English to place them in the hands of the people who are coming to establish the fort, promising him a good reward for so doing. *Vale.*" These horses (from Batavia, it is presumed) were duly handed over to Van Riebeeck by the Ottentoo referred to.* As it seemed absolutely necessary

* Previous to the commencement of the nineteenth century, it would seem that all our horses were imported from the East. Many were Arabs. Some Spanish horses, on their way to Buenos Ayres, captured during a war with France, are considered to have been the progenitors of the blue and red roans, so well known for their endurance. Lord Charles Somerset, by importing English thoroughbreds, did a great deal to improve Cape stock, and his example has been followed since by such men as Messrs. Cloete, Melck, Kotzé, T. B. Bayley, and M. van Breda.

to provide for defence against the natives, a party was immediately landed, to discover the most suitable site for a fort. On the evening of the 7th, two of the natives fearlessly went on board the ships, where they were treated with hospitality. The commander says:—"Got two of the savages on board, one of whom speaks a little English, and whose bellies we blew out right bravely with meat and drink." On the following day, a fight took place between nine or ten savages of Saldania and a number of the strandloopers, or natives who frequented the sea-shore.

The resolution of the Council held on board the *Dromedary*, inserted in the Records of Council, was as follows:—

"Tuesday, 8th April, 1652.

"Having now, by the grace of God, whose name be praised, safely arrived with the ships *Dromedary*, *Heron*, and *Good Hope*, in the roads of Table Bay at Cabo de Bon Esperance, on the 6th and 7th Inst., for the purpose of establishing a general rendezvous, according to the orders received from our superiors, the directors of the General Chartered Dutch East India Company, and for the attainment of that object to build a defensive fort or castle, in center, under its protection, to take possession of such lands as may be best suited for cultivation and cattle-breeding, for the refreshment of the Company's vessels, both home and outward bound, and for such other services as the interests of the Company may require; for which purpose the vessels aforementioned have been laden with materials, and the commanders thereof directed to use their utmost endeavours to carry this plan into effect;

"The Council being assembled by the senior merchant, Jan van Riebeeck, having maturely deliberated and well considered the subject, have ordered and directed

"That, in the first place, the said Jan van Riebeeck, accompanied by the commanders of the said ships, David de Konink, Johan Hoogsæet, and Symon Turver, shall land with some armed soldiers, to inspect and measure (as was provisionally done yesterday) a place fitted for the erection of a fort; and, having fixed upon the same, shall immediately mark out the plan, so that no time may be lost in commencing the work, and the ships be enabled to pursue their voyage to Batavia with as little delay as possible.

"And that everything may be done with regularity, and quickly finished, it has been further resolved to leave no more than thirty-eight men in each of the ships *Dromedary* and *Heron*, and eleven in the yacht *Good Hope*, making together eighty-three men, to land the materials and to procure water, ballast, &c. These men shall also be

employed when convenient in fishing, so that the persons on shore may not be taken from their work. * * *

“Relative to the guards, it is understood that both day and night watches shall be equally divided between the soldiers and sailors, and include even the carpenters, without any exception whatever.

* * * * *

“Thus resolved and done on board the ship *Dromedary*, on the day and year above mentioned.

“(Signed)

JAN VAN RIEBEEK.

DAVID DE KONINK.

JAN HOOGSAET.

SYMON TURNER.

P. VAN HELM, Secretary.”

Commander van Riebeeck assumed the government of the embryo Colony upon the 9th of April, 1652, when he issued a proclamation as “senior merchant,” taking formal possession of the country, and enacting various regulations, among which is one providing that “whoever ill-uses, beats, or pushes any of the natives, be he in the right or in the wrong, shall in their presence be punished with fifty lashes, that they may thus see that such is against our will, and that we are disposed to correspond with them in all kindness and friendship, in accordance with the orders and the object of our employers.” Another order expressly forbids and prohibits all persons, of whatsoever quality, from carrying on any barter or traffic with the natives, except with the knowledge and consent of the commander and council.

Industry and energy distinguished the first proceedings of the Government. The erection of a fort was vigorously proceeded with, and Van Riebeeck visited the neighbourhood of the Lion's Hill, Table Mountain, and obtained from Captains Hoogsaet and Turver reliable information concerning the nature of the adjacent country. Fine forests, abounding in game, then existed in the mountain kloofs; tracts of fertile land seemed to invite the plough, and nature crowned all with a delicious climate which guaranteed plenty and health. Even at this early stage of our history it appears natural to ask—Why, then, was the progress of the settlement so slow, and its success so uncertain? Why was this offspring of Dutch trade and

enterprise puny and delicate, and so constantly weakened by the fever of discontent as ultimately to become the easy prey of an invading force? The answer is to be traced in the narrow and limited objects the Dutch East India Company had in view, and the restrictive laws with which, as in swaddling-clothes, they bound the infant Colony. The Cape was intended merely to be a place of call for Dutch outward and homeward bound ships, to the exclusion of all other Europeans. The settlers were servants, or rather slaves of the Company, restricted from barter with the natives, and obliged to sell to their masters at rates fixed by the purchasers. They could not even buy anything except from the Company, and at the prices named by its officers, for whose advantage many of the regulations seemed to be made. Strange ships were not to be supplied, and strangers were to be discouraged. The Governor's will was law, and his power extended so far, that he had the right even to prohibit fishing in the bays on the coast. The name of "Free Burgher" was a misnomer, and Commissioner Verburg, in 1672, reported to the home authorities that "the Dutch colonists at the Cape of Good Hope bear the name of free men; but they are so trammelled and confined in all things that the absence of any freedom is but too manifest. The orders and proclamations from time to time issued are so rigid that it would be impossible to carry out the penalties therein, except with the utter ruin of the burghers."

Van Riebeeck's journal is evidently a truthful record of events in the infant settlement. On April 13, 1652, he relates the triumphant purchase of a cow and a young calf for four pieces of flat copper and three pieces of copper wire, each three feet long. On the next day, Sunday, Divine service was performed, and after the reading of "Het Sermoen," "they went with all the boats to Salt River to fish, where, with three casts, from 900 to 1,000 fine steenbras, harders, and other fish were caught."*

* Van Riebeeck, in one place, speaks of fish of finer flavour than any in the fatherland. There are certainly none of these at the present day, but new fish have appeared in our waters, so possibly former

The natives are more than once referred to as strand-loopers, who bring with them only lean bodies and hungry bellies, and the purchase of cattle from the Ottentoots is an object most anxiously sought after. On the 15th April, Van Riebeeck states:—"There came to anchor, God be praised, the ship *Salamander*, with the Honourable Dirk Snoek and Captain Jan Eyebands, from Batavia the 25th January last, and through the Strait of Sunda on the 13th February, in company with the ships *Oranje*, *Konnik David*, *Lastdrager*, and *Breda*, under the command of the Honourable Dirk Vogel, as Vice-Commander."

"We understand, from the report of the said Snoek, that by order of the Honourable Governor-General and Council of India, a variety of Indian seeds and plants, besides some horses, had been sent by the first ships from Batavia for this place, of which we will now be deprived."

On the 24th of April, the Commander left the ship to reside in a temporary wooden hut, and on the evening of the same day a large hippopotamus was captured in the Salt River. Various parties were sent out to explore the surrounding country, and two persons named Van der Helson and Verburg went to a distance of eighteen miles from Cape Town through the country behind Table Mountain. They reported the discovery of extensive forests, and that deer and game of all descriptions abounded.

During the month of May two ships arrived from Holland containing fifty emigrants, and one of them (the *Whale*) brought the Minister Bonkerias, who had been appointed chaplain to the settlement. A last and grand council was held on board the *Dromedary*, and upon the 12th of May the points of the little fort were named respectively the *Dromedary*, *Whale*, *Elephant*, and *Heron*,

descriptions may have passed away. Dr. Pappe, in his Synopsis, p. 30, speaking of the Cape stock-fish, says:—"It is remarkable that this fish, a notorious denizen of the European seas, was utterly unknown at the Cape of Good Hope before the earthquake of 1809 (Dec. 4). At first it was scarce, and sold at exorbitant prices (4s. 6d.). Since that period it has yearly increased in numbers, and is now a standard fish in the market, being caught in great abundance."

in obedience to the orders of the Company, while the yacht *Good Hope* had the honour of giving its name to the entire fortification.* In the beginning of June a number of the settlers were sick, 54 out of 116 labourers being attacked with fevers, flux, and other diseases; it was difficult to procure cattle, and the position of matters was certainly very disheartening. Much of the provisions they had brought was spoiled by heavy rains, so that Van Riebeeck exclaims, "that if the Almighty were not pleased to stay his chastening hand, it was evident that their labour would be tedious and of little profit; but that, however, he still relied upon God's gracious assistance." So many deaths began to occur that the Commander, on the 10th June, writes:—"If the Almighty be not pleased soon to relieve us from this calamity, we see very little probability of completing our work, as many of our people die, and the greater part of the remainder are sick." On the 6th of June, 1652, the Chaplain's wife gave birth to the first European child born in the Colony. The Commander's house was now finished, and the large quantities of whales seen in Table Bay rendered it probable that a regular fishery would be a profitable undertaking. Van Riebeeck nearly lost his life about this time when going to Seal (Robben) Island.

The first crime was committed by Jan Blank, who, for having been grossly insolent to the commander of the *Good Hope*, was dropped from the yard-arm of that vessel into the sea, and afterwards received fifty lashes. This man, or at least a person of the same name, figures subsequently as a deserter, who, with a few others, endeavoured to escape to Mozambique overland! The

* This fort was an earthwork enclosure, conjectured to have been not far from the site of the present castle. Governor Wagenaar, in 1662, applied to the Home Government for "a little coarse window glass and lead to glaze the windows." Outworks were at a very early date thrown up at Salt River, and small forts were at various times erected along the flanks of Table Mountain. The Dutch East India Company resolved, in 1665, to build a regular castle, which will in due course be referred to.

poor fellows only got as far as Hottentots Holland. They then returned to the fort, where they were looked upon as malefactors, and “in God’s name” received the following punishments:—Jan Blank, who had been condemned to death, was awarded (as a great favour) 150 lashes, to be keel-hauled, and to serve in chains as a slave for two years. This man pleaded that he had some time ago dreamt of a mountain of gold, which he had hoped to find, “and such-like childish pretences.” Jan van Leyden was also sentenced to slavery for two years, and as a ringleader, was tied to a stake while a ball was fired over his head. William Huytgen and Gerrit Dirkse were condemned to two years’ servitude; and two other persons, against whom there was not sufficient evidence, were set at liberty. In accordance with the fashion set by the Commander, this wretched Jan Blank also kept a diary, which he solemnly commences in the name of our Lord. From this document, scrawled with red chalk, it appeared that the deserters had with them four swords, two pistols, and a dog, but, in spite of this armament, displayed more discretion than valour, as they fled so precipitately from a rhinoceros as to leave behind “one sword and a hat.” Keeping along the beach, they procured birds and shell-fish for food, and at last they lay down to rest on a high mountain close to the sea. Having pursued the journey for six days, hunger and repentance forced them to return.

In July the Commander had the inexpressible gratification to see the wheat he had sown spring up, and the vegetables begin to thrive. Large Government gardens were laid out, and on the 3rd of August every one left their temporary huts to reside in the fort, which was now sufficiently strong to stand a siege. Unfortunately, this month the imported provisions were found to be both scarce and stale, so that it was determined to demand a supply from any Dutch ships which might arrive, and, if refused, “to protest against them in equity for all costs, hinderances, damages, and inconveniences.” Fighting by proclamations and protests was always considered of vast service.

On the 24th of September it was ordered that a yacht should proceed to Elizabeth Isle (Dassen Island), there to procure oil, &c. To quote *verbatim* from the Records, this was determined upon by the Council, "in the name of the Lord, and as many casks as can be spared to hold sea-blubber and a Ottentoo bag."

Another State trial now demands our attention. Joost van der Laak, a corporal in the service of the Company, having in a fit of drunkenness insulted the Commander, was brought to trial before Symon Turver, captain of the *Good Hope*, Gerrit Abels, Paulus Petkouw, and Jan van Geluyk; and in the Council on the 1st September, it was resolved that, as the prisoner's situation had become vacant, Paulus Petkouw, a native of Dantzic, should be appointed in his place, to whom therefore "the halberd of authority was ordered to be given in presence of the people." Beyond suspension from actual service, it is not clear that any punishment was inflicted on this prisoner. Far different, however, was the fate of Herman van Vogelaar, who, for the crime of wishing the purser at the devil, because he served out penguins instead of pork, was sentenced to receive one hundred blows from the butt-end of a musket.

In the month of October the Commander had the satisfaction of seeing the Saldanian Hottentots more frequently, and of transacting business with them. A sheep cost scarcely the animal's length of thin copper wire and a little tobacco. For a bigger sheep they wanted a larger price, but "we therefore did not accede to their demands that they might not acquire bad habits."*

The tribe of Saldaniers consisted of 250 persons, and paid great respect to their chief. The "children sucked at the udders of the sheep which the mothers gave them, through the hind-legs—very curious to behold." A

* Prices were not very high in those days. Three elephants' teeth were bought for copper and tobacco to the value of two stivers three pennings, and three young ostriches for one eighth of a pound of tobacco.

Hottentot named Herry, who had been taken in an English ship to Bantam, was employed by Van Riebeeck as an interpreter, and is a very prominent character in the history of those times. The Commander soon had reason to suspect that this fellow was too friendly with the natives, and writes, "It were not amiss that we should contrive to coax him, with wife and children, as well as all the strandloopers (*i.e.* those who brought nothing but hungry bellies) to Robben Island." Herry, who was fond of the English, incited all Saldaniers to ask daily about them—so that it seemed as if the natives had the bad taste to prefer them to the Dutch, and to desire their presence. In spite of Van Riebeeck's suspicions, Herry was led to suppose that he was thoroughly trusted, familiar converse was held at meals, and when the Hottentot suggested bloody and violent measures, the Commander temporised and answered evasively. The Watermen, Saldanha men, and the Fishermen were stated by the interpreter to be three tribes of natives near the settlement, and information regarding their numbers and mode of life was willingly supplied by him.

Prosperity and adversity seemed to alternate. In September and October, 100 labourers were at work, the supply of meat was plentiful, and every one rejoiced. In November, violent south-east gales devastated the fields, and destroyed the newly-erected buildings. Twenty-four persons were in hospital, the only net for catching fish was almost unusable, and, above all, there were no natives to traffic with, so that the poor Governor was reduced to write that, "If the Lord God be not pleased to grant soon some relief, either by the Saldaniers bringing their cattle, or by the arrival of ships from the mother country, we have little hope of being able to proceed with our work."

The yacht which had been sent in September to Saldanha and St. Helena Bays, returned about the middle of November, bringing no fewer than 2,700 seal-skins. The captain handed in a written account of the voyage, in which the bays and islands visited were described, and it is mentioned that a French vessel had been sealing on the

coast. Shortly after this the Saldaniers returned with cattle, and were treated with courtesy and kindness. The suspicious conduct of Herry, the interpreter, almost induced the Commander to send him, as well as the strandloopers, to Robben Island, and the many thefts and irregularities of the Dutchmen made it necessary to appoint a "public executioner." For this office, a colonist named Michiel Grieve was selected, and Jan Pieter Stenwater was the luckless wight upon whom the vengeance of the law was first inflicted.

Van Riebeeck's life at the Cape was by no means a happy one. Beset with difficulties, and surrounded by constant danger, he had not only to provide against attacks from the natives, but to keep the servants of the Company in order, and to guard against their thefts and insubordination. There was much work, and great risk, with little profit. The Commander, therefore, does not expect a successor, but "a deliverer," and looks forward to the termination of his period of exile as a "deliverance." However, in spite of all disasters, there was at the end of the first year a good deal to cheer and encourage the settlers. "We are, thank God," Van Riebeeck says, "so far advanced that the sick can be supplied with milk, and buttermilk, and eggs, and the fowls are breeding well." The cabbages began to close, and the carrots increased in size. Fresh meat was eat daily, and the churn provided fresh butter constantly. Ships could be supplied with refreshments, so that the chief object of the settlement was attained; and as their relations with the natives were tolerably friendly, there was every prospect of a continuous and successful trade. Hundreds of Saldaniers, with herds of cattle, were frequently within twelve or fifteen miles of the Fort.

On the 13th of January, 1653, the first wheat grown at the Cape was reaped, and it is stated that on the 23rd of the month "it appeared as if the lions would take the fort by storm that they might get at the sheep." The Commander commenced the new year by extending mercy to Jan Blank, Gerrit Derkse, and William Huytgens, the

first of whom proved himself thoroughly undeserving, by shortly afterwards attempting, with some other men, to carry off the galiot.

The natives now began to think that the settlers could not do without them, and to assume consequential manners. Frequent insults were received; nevertheless fire-arms were only used to terrify the Hottentots. When they fled, leaving their cattle behind, these were subsequently restored in a friendly manner. Van Riebeck acted thus under express instructions from the Company as well as from prudential motives. One chief alone had eighty fighting men, and possessed 5,000 cattle and 2,000 sheep; and the force at the disposal of the Commander was fully occupied in endeavouring to carry out the object of the settlement by raising and procuring supplies for the fleet of the Dutch East India Company. We cannot be surprised that the Commander became tired of his work, and in a despatch to the Chamber of Seventeen, dated 14th April, 1653, earnestly requested to be sent to India, where he could render better service than among those "dull, stupid, lazy, stinking people, where there is nothing to be done but to barter a few sheep and cattle."

In January, the customary routine had been suddenly disturbed by the arrival of the galiot *Black Fox*, with news of war between Holland and England. The *Good Hope* was despatched with the intelligence to Batavia, and immediate steps were taken to put the fortifications in order, and to get salt penguins and young seals for the people whose provisions began to run short. When the Dutch fleet arrived in March, only one ration of bread remained. In April, four thousand and five Cape seal skins were sent home, but these, when examined by competent persons in Holland, were found to be very inferior. Trade with the natives began to increase about this time, and acquaintance was made with another tribe from the interior, whose friendship was valuable, as elephant and hippopotamus' tusks were received from them in exchange for small pieces of tobacco, or of copper wire.

In May, 1653, Van Riebeeck states that a German, named Marthinus Martini, reports favourably of the east coast, "where many maintain is the true Ophir, whence Solomon imported his gold." It was only by the arguments of the members of Council that the Commander was dissuaded from giving instructions that the galiot should be sent to ascertain whether or not a trade in ebony, gold, and slaves* could be carried on with this commercial land of promise. A long despatch was written to the directors on this subject, and the enterprise was only postponed until their orders could be received.

In July, three ships arrived from Holland, which were promptly supplied with refreshments; and the *Phoenix* brought the junior merchant, Jacob Rynierz, who was appointed second in command to the Governor. The *first marriage* at the Cape is thus chronicled in the records of Council:—

"Saturday, 30th August, 1653.—Adolphus ten Bengervoort, of Amsterdam, boatswain, bachelor, and Zanneken Willems, also of Amsterdam, spinster, both on board the flute *King David*, bound to India, requesting permission to enter into the holy state of matrimony, according to the promises which they had made to each other, the Council, assisted by the principal persons belonging to said ship, asked them if they are betrothed or engaged to any other person, and being answered in the negative, consent to their being married as soon as possible; and for that purpose allow two banns to be published to-morrow, and the third on Monday next, when the further solemnization will take place before the Council of the Fort Good Hope," &c.†

A large French ship, carrying eleven guns, was observed sealing off the coast, and Rynierz, the second in command, was despatched in the galiot to observe her. Three men, who had been placed as convicts on a small island by the captain of this ship, were released, and taken into the Dutch service; and the Council resolved "not only to make every attempt to engage those who offer to quit the

* Van Riebeeck was strongly in favour of the introduction of slavery at the Cape, and thought that an organised mercantile company should be established for trading with the natives in gold, ambergris, ostrich feathers, and skins.

† The Minister had previously left the Colony in the *Phoenix*.

French service to enter that of the Company, but also to prevail upon as many more as possible to accompany the people to the fort by land."

After Divine service, on the 19th October, it was discovered that the interpreter, Herry, and the Hottentots had fled with the cattle, and that one of the boys in charge had been murdered at the foot of Lion's Hill. Armed men were vainly sent in different directions. Forty-two cattle had been stolen, and taken behind Table Mountain to Hout Bay, over such roads and passes that the mounted men declared it impossible to follow. Several attempts at pursuit were unsuccessful, and some time afterwards, a chief of Saldaniers expressed sympathy with the Dutch, and stated that he had seen Herry near Cape False, and had been offered a share in the booty. This act of treachery on the part of Herry and his companions, who had been always treated with kindness by the settlers, put Van Riebeeck more than ever on his guard; but, at the same time, strict instructions were issued that no act of retaliation or revenge was to be committed.

The ships *Breda* and *Lam* arrived from the Texel on the 22nd of December. In January, 1654, "a large quantity of glittering ore was seen on the mountains," which, upon being tested, was declared to be a superior description of tin; but it does not appear that any benefit was ever derived from this discovery. On March 6, Van Riebeeck says:—"There was found on the mountain a dead besmanneken, called in Batavia an ourang-outang, as large as a small calf, with long hairy arms and legs, of a dark grey colour, which our people eat from hunger, for there is little nourishment in the pot-herbs." This shows to what straits the little settlement had been reduced, in consequence of the cruel robbery of their small stock of cattle, and the difficulty that then existed of procuring any supplies from the natives, who had retired into the interior.

About this time a number of young girls were sent to the Colony from orphan institutions in Holland. The advantage of a settlement at the Cape to supply vessels

was strikingly proved in February, 1654, when the ship *Draak* "arrived full of sick and scorbutic, hardly able to manage the sail." The voyages at that time were much longer than at present, and the sailors were exceedingly subject to scurvy and other diseases, caused by their long abstinence from fresh provisions and vegetables.

A proclamation issued by Van Riebeeck on the 12th October, 1654, expressly and absolutely forbade all traffic whatsoever with the natives, on the ground that it injured the Company's trade, and induced the Hottentots to ask higher prices for sheep. The officers and crew of an English ship named the *East India Merchant*, which arrived on the 19th December, were treated with hospitality; but the Commander lost nothing by their visit, as he is able to record that "on the 26th was sold to the English a lot of Madagasear ebony, in order to turn it to some account, as it was very bad and cracked, in exchange for two butts of English beer for our table." About this time Herry and his allies constantly gave trouble and impeded trade. Cattle were purchased with difficulty for tobacco and brass; and supplies of birds' eggs and penguins had constantly to be obtained from the bays and islands on the coast. Large quantities of excellent timber were procured at a distance of three or four Dutch miles from the fort.

As the Cape had become a sort of half-way house, or hotel, the Commander was naturally looked upon as the landlord, and constant demands were made upon his hospitality. Van Riebeeck at last, in a voluminous despatch, calls attention to the want of a public place of entertainment, and as he is forced to entertain every one, begs the Government at least to send him five or six dozen pewter plates and three or four dozen dishes or basins. It is to be feared that in those days the *arma antique* had frequently to be used at meal-times in Government-house. The guests do not seem, either, to have been very particular in other respects, for Van Riebeeck remarks, in his despatch, "that the consumption of linen for napkins and table-cloths is no trifle, for every one carries off what napkins

and dishes he can, thinking it is only Company's property."

As Herry, the interpreter, evidently thought that advantages were to be derived from friendship with the settlers, he made up a story attributing the theft of the cattle to the Caepmans, and exonerating himself entirely. Van Riebeeck considered it the most prudent course to admit this excuse, and Herry was therefore nominally reconciled with the Commander. Shortly afterwards the wily Hottentot again showed himself in his true colours, when accompanying Corporal Muller and some others into the interior, where he traded with the natives entirely on his own account, and utterly disregarded the instructions of his employers. A decked boat of sixteen or seventeen tons, built near the fort, and named the *Robbejacht*, was launched on the 11th of September, 1655; and a curious proposal was gravely made during this year to make the Cape an island, and separate it from the continent by uniting the waters of False and Table Bays. The construction of a canal was to be the means of carrying out this idea—seriously entertained and laid before the Government. In the time of the Van der Stells we shall see that this plan was again talked of, and that the formation of a channel was carried on until the quantity of sand choking it up demonstrated the absurdity of the project. A despatch from the Governor-General and Council of the Indies, dated 25th December, 1655, states that—"As to the proposal of Mr. van Goens to cut off the Cape from the continent, such would indeed be a good thing if it could be easily effected. The formation of a stone pier, to extend seventy roods into the sea, we agree with you in thinking one of the most necessary things at the Cape."

On the 17th of January, 1656, Van Riebeeck refers to a great drought which so injured the pasture that some of the cattle were left in the field through weakness. Droughts are evidently a chronic disease of South Africa, and are fully referred to by some of the old travellers. Fortunately, this country, although easily depressed, possesses great elasticity, and so quickly recovers verdure

after a period of severe drought as to fully compensate for dearth by renewed and more abundant fertility. On the 25th March of this year a squadron arrived, consisting of four French ships of war, bound to Madagascar. The Hottentots were specially cautioned not to trust these Frenchmen, "as they would try to take their cattle, and to carry off their people, and what further might tend to produce dislike."

Wild animals are to be ranked among the enemies of the settlers. So numerous and daring were they that stock was carried off close to the fort, and traces of the footsteps of tigers frequently seen in the Commander's garden. One large lion, weighing no less than 426 lbs., was killed, and his skin hung up in the church as a trophy. As land at Rondebosch* had been granted to "Freemen," the Hottentots constantly grumbled at their dispossession, and showed evident signs of dissatisfaction. Herry and the Caepmans proved themselves particularly troublesome, and Van Riebeeck at last arrived at the opinion that this tribe should be seized, and their cattle taken from them. This was one of the questions submitted for the decision of Commissioner Van Goens upon his arrival in March, 1656. This officer, however, was not in favour of harsh measures, and gave strict instructions that every endeavour was to be made to gain the goodwill of the natives. At the same time he blamed Van Riebeeck for attending more to the construction of buildings than to agriculture. The burghers were not to be permitted to keep good corn-land for pasture, nor to grow tobacco, and the Commissioner saw little difficulty in penetrating by land in search of gold and ivory to the town of Spirito Sancto, and the city of Monomotopa, the latter of which, he confidently states, is only distant about two hundred and ten miles to the northward. Wonderful to say, Van Goens allowed the freemen to trade in direct opposition to Van Riebeeck's opinion and desire.

* In May, 1656, a strip of land at "Rondebos" had been ploughed and sown with wheat, rice, and oats; and about this time the first inn was established, with Annetje de Boeren as hostess.

This order, however, was speedily reversed, as by a placaat, bearing date 26th September, 1657, the freemen are expressly warned not to buy from the natives. On the 9th October, 1657, the Chamber of Seventeen issued instructions that water, but not provisions, could be supplied to strange ships.*

A native woman named Eva was employed by the Commander as an interpreter, and some of the conversations carried on by her means with the natives were of an interesting character. The Saldaniers spoke of the existence of a great Lord or Emperor in the interior, whom they described as Emperor over all the Cape Tribes, and known by the name or title of "Chobona." Strange tales were told, with an air of veracity, regarding lands where gold was found in the sand, large stone houses with beams were built, and white rice was sown.† As Herry became enraged when he heard the name of Chobona mentioned, it was naturally suspected that he and the Caepmans were rebels against the authority of this ruler.

The crew of the little vessel *Robbejacht*, whose launch has already been referred to, were attacked and plundered by the natives on the coast without any provocation, their boat was broken, and three "trusty Hottentots" subsequently stated that it was intended not only to kill them but all other freemen. In a despatch, dated 17th December, 1657, the Home Government significantly states that the more the Cape establishment is circumscribed, the better

* The following punishments are specimens of those inflicted at this time:—"Jan Wonters, assistant, sentenced for blasphemous injuries against the characters of females at the Cape, including the Commander's wife, to beg pardon on his bare knees, to be bored through the tongue, to forfeit his wages, and to be banished three years." "Pasqual Rodrigo, soldier, for theft and desertion, sentenced to receive 100 lashes, confiscation of wages, and to serve his term of five years to all dirty work."

† They very possibly referred to the Portuguese settlements on the East Coast, and to the adjacent country inland, where gold has been found from time immemorial. Jesuit Missionaries established stations there in the sixteenth century. See *Dr. Livingstone's Travels, Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus par Joly, &c.*

and more profitable for the Company. It was in this year (1657) that the first importation of slaves from the Guinea Coast was made.*

It may be interesting here to note the information regarding the population of the Settlement, communicated in the Resolutions of Council, dated 30th May, 1658.

Garrison, in number.....	80
Sick.....	15
European women and children	20
Slaves of the Company.....	98
Free inhabitants	51
Slaves of private people	89
Convicts.....	7

360

Of whom, deducting the sick, as well as slaves, convicts, women, and children, there only remained 113 men to defend the entire Settlement.

Van Riebeeck this year secured a grant of land for himself, and in the interest of the Company ordered that cattle was invariably to be bought from him, and not from the natives. The price to be paid for wheat was also fixed. The Commander was constantly annoyed by the escape of slaves† and so frequently deceived by the natives that he emphatically declares them to be “all thieves and rogues, but Herry the father of them.” At last, however, this arch-traitor was secured, and, under date July 10, 1658, it is stated: “This morning, about 10 o’clock, our former interpreter, King Herry, was transported by the *Scheepjachten* to Robben Island, as also two of his companions.”

* A work of great utility, which had been strongly recommended, consisting of a pier or jetty in Table Bay, was so far completed in January, 1658, that the Commander was then able to go along the beams of it into a boat.

† Rhinoceroses and elephants “in hundreds together” were seen by those who went out to capture runaway slaves. These wretched serfs found a difficulty in obtaining a subsistence away from their masters, and one of them, when asked on what they would have lived, replied that they depended on Hottentot’s flesh.

Eva, who had become his successor, was the cause of friendly relations being commenced between the settlers and the tribe of Chochaquas, from whom sheep and cattle were purchased. But this peace was hollow, and merely the calm which preceded a storm of native rage we shall shortly have to describe.

On the 8th November, 1658, the ship *West Friesland* sailed, taking half an aum of Cape beer as a sample, so that brewing malt preceded vine cultivation at the Cape. Many expeditions to the interior took place, and in March, 1658, the first passage through the Berg River Mountains was effected.

CHAPTER III.

War with the Hottentots—Measurement of the Cape Territory—Complaints of the Natives—The traveller Nieuhoff's description of the Colony—Origin, history, language, and customs of the Hottentot races—Departure of Van Riebeeck—His character—Commanders Wagenaar and Quaelberg—Dismissal of the latter, and appointment of Jacob Borghorst—Governor Goske—Cape Castle built—Expeditions of Discovery—Free Burghers—Purchase of land from Natives.

IN the last chapter, details were furnished, trivial in nature, and only deriving consequence from the fact that they were the first noteworthy incidents which occurred in the infant settlement. Great dissatisfaction prevailed among the burghers, in consequence of being debarred from trading with the natives, and the difficulties of government were soon alarmingly increased by the hostile attitude of the Hottentots. At last, as war was imminent, it was resolved, on 1st May, 1659, to arm and embody the colonists; Abraham Gabbema was appointed commander, and the force consisted of one hundred and fifty men, part of whom were drafted from the ship *Honinghen*. The chief Doman, with fifty or sixty of his people, made an attack upon the Company's cattle, and Eva, the interpreter, left the Fort ostensibly to return to her brother. About this time the Caepmans and Gorachouquas became declared enemies. A prisoner of the former tribe being asked why his people injured the Dutch, answered, "that it was because they saw that we were breaking up the best land and grass, where they were accustomed to graze, trying to establish ourselves everywhere." Various skirmishes took place, in which the natives were repulsed, and war was carried on by proclamations offering one hundred guilders for the capture of the chief Doman, forty guilders for a common Hottentot, and half as much for the dead body of one. The Governor-General in Batavia, writing to Van Riebeeck in 1659, says:—"Now that the Hottentots have been once roused, the Company will not have an easy possession, as may be sufficiently ascertained from your prisoner's reason for the war—viz.,

that they were unwilling any longer to suffer us at the Cape, because you had occupied for your use the best lands, which had been theirs from time immemorial—a grievance of these savage men which we must admit. It is well founded, and yet we can herein afford them no satisfaction, while we continue to reside at the Cape.” The skirmishes that occasionally took place scarcely deserve the name of a war, and the constant discomfiture of the Hottentots made them soon sensible that the contest was hopeless.

On the 25th February, 1660, the Cape territory was measured, and then included only a small tract of country in the immediate neighbourhood of Table Mountain, the boundaries of which it was determined should be planted with thick hedges. It is recorded that during 1659 the difficulties of the Commander were increased by a conspiracy among the foreign soldiers of the garrison, who wished to seize the Fort and murder the Dutch. Five of these men were sent to Batavia in the fleet of Admiral Sterthemius. On the 8th of December, 1659, the interpreter (Herry) managed to make his escape from Robben Island, with another Hottentot prisoner, in a small two-oared boat kept there for fishing, and no doubt repaired to the tribe of Caepmans to assist them by his cunning and experience. Hostilities, however, did not continue much longer. Upon the 6th April, 1660, “peace was renewed at the Fort with Herry and the Caepmans,” when the natives specially referred to the grievance they suffered in being dispossessed of their lands, and inquired whether they would be allowed to enter Holland, and do to the Dutch as Van Riebeck and his associates had done to them? “You come quite into the interior,” they said, “selecting the best land for yourselves, and never once inquiring whether we like it, or whether it will cause us any injury or inconvenience.” The Dutch objected to their having the joint use of the pasture with them, on account of the grass not being enough for both. To this the Hottentots replied, “Have we then no cause to prevent you from procuring cattle? For, if you get many cattle,

you come and occupy our pasture with them, and then you say the land is not wide enough for both! Who then can be required with the greatest degree of justice to give way—the natural owner or the foreign invader?” They insisted that at least they should be permitted to gather the roots and bitter almonds which Nature herself provided. But this even could not be allowed, for the reason that it would give too many opportunities to injure the colonists, and because the bitter almonds were needed for making the hedge to form a barrier against the natives; “but they insisted so much upon this point, that the true word must out at last, that they had now lost their land in war, and therefore they could but expect to be henceforth deprived of it, the rather because they could not be induced to restore the cattle which they had wrongfully, and without cause, stolen from us.” The Dutch Government, both before and after the war, issued orders that the natives were invariably to be treated with kindness, and Van Riebeeck, who seems never to have had any will but that of his masters, strictly attended to these directions. If permitted, he would have acted differently, and in his journal he more than once states that it would be easy to seize the cattle of the natives, if he but received orders; and, indeed, seems to regret the non-receipt of such instructions, as by means of this seizure, he remarks, there would be no apprehension of the English destroying the cattle trade.

John Nieuhoff, a traveller, who visited the Colony in those early days, states that the Company had erected a quadrangular fort, well provided with artillery and a good garrison, and that a small redoubt existed at the Salt River, “all along the banks of which stream there were plantations and gardens.” “The Dutch,” he adds, “have planted many thousand vines on a hill near the Fort, but the wind blew so during the month of July as to tear up all by the roots. At this season of the year you may see ice of the thickness of the blade of a large knife.” Nieuhoff was by no means prepossessed by

the Hottentots, whom he describes as a filthy set, whose food consisted of the entrails of animals, stinking fish, and roots. On occasions of betrothal or marriage, he says that the mother cuts off the first joint of her daughter's little finger, which is tied to her future husband's hand, and subsequently buried. Afterwards, a cow is killed.*

As we have arrived at a period of Cape history when the first serious conflict between the settlers and natives took place, the time has now come when it is necessary to give some consideration to the origin, history, and language of the Hottentot race. The Dutch found them divided into numerous tribes, the names of which they understood to be Boekemans, Chenouas, Caekouquas, Chainouquas, Gorcoquas, Gonnemas, Griququas, Hottentoots, Hameunquas, Kaapmans, Namaquas, Sousequas, Ubequas, Watemans. Probably many of these names were either corruptions of terms in use, or were conferred by the settlers themselves. Certainly the designation Hottentoo or Hottentot is not of native origin. In the oldest records the title "Ottentoo" is used; Lichtenstein speaks of "Hotnots," and Sir Thomas Herbert calls the natives "Hottentotes." "Hodmodods," or "Hadmandods," were names also used, probably as a corruption. The term Hottentot, which was conferred by the Dutch, was given, it is conjectured, in order to convey, by the sounds *Hot-en-tot*, some idea of the peculiar click or manner of talking of the savages. Prichard believes the name is a corruption of Outeniqua, the designation of a particular tribe. However the origin be accounted for, certain is it that the name was not known by the natives, who called themselves, collectively, Quai-quæ, or Gkhuighkui.†

* Collections of Voyages and Travels, published at London in 1744 (page 141). Nieuhoff visited the Cape between the years 1652 and 1660.

† In the Namaqua dialect they call themselves Koiboib; in the Koranna, Kuhkeul. According to Dr. Vanderkemp their name is Khuekhivena; Kolben says Q-ena. By the Hottentots the Bushmen are called Sab.

M. Bory de St. Vincent, quoted by Dr. Prichard,* describes the Hottentots as differing most widely from what he terms the Japetic species of men, and adds that, "of all species, this race, approaching as it does in its form most nearly to the second genus of bimanous animals, is still more closely allied to the oranges through the inferiority of its intellectual faculties." In opposition to Lichtenstein and other writers, Prichard emphatically asserts that the Bushmen are not a distinct race, but a branch or sub-division of the once extensive nation of Hottentots, and quotes Professor Vater's assertion that a careful comparison of their language with that of the Korah, or other Hottentots, furnishes convincing proof that there is an essential affinity between them.

As the Hottentot races are virtually extinct within the Cape Colony, it is absolutely necessary to quote the descriptions given by early travellers. In Kolben's work† a full account is furnished of the Hottentots. According to him they were originally a powerful nation divided into tribes, each of which was presided over by a chief. Their riches consisted in flocks and herds, with which they roved about seeking pasture, and carrying with them, in their migrations, moveable villages, each hut of which was composed of poles or boughs covered with rush mats. Their clothes consisted of sheepskins, and their weapons of bows and poisoned arrows. Bold and active in the chase, they were courageous in danger, although naturally of a mild and gentle disposition. Intellectual gifts, as well as the qualities of humanity and good nature, were possessed by them; and this author states that he has known many who understood Dutch, French, and

* *Natural History of Man*, p. 514.

† Kolben, Pieter, A.M. His book, originally written in High German. "*Caput Bonæ Spei hodiernum*"—"The present state of the Cape of Good Hope." He left Holland in October, 1704, and embarked in Table Bay 9th April, 1713. There are two English editions of his work, the latter of which is dated 1738. Kolben is absurdly prepossessed in favour of the natives.

Portuguese to a degree of perfection. "They are even employed," he adds, "by Europeans in affairs that require judgment and capacity. A Hottentot named Cloos was entrusted by Van der Stell, the late Governor of the Cape, with the business of carrying on a trade of barter for cattle with the tribes at a great distance, and he generally returned, after executing his commission, with great success." What he says about their moral qualities is even more in their favour. "They are, perhaps, the most faithful servants in the world. Though infinitely fond of wine, brandy, and tobacco, they are safely entrusted with them. Their chastity is remarkable, and adultery, when known among them, is punished with death." It appears, in fact, according to this writer, that the Hottentot races were almost perfect, except in as far "they were dirty in their habits, slothful and indolent, and, although capable of thinking to the purpose, hating the trouble of thought." Their religion, according to Kolben, consisted in the belief of a Supreme Power termed "Gounya Tekquvä," or the God of all Gods, to whom they paid no direct adoration, but instead (and by way, possibly, of a relative worship) sacrificed to the moon at full and change, accompanying their devotions with shouting, swearing, singing, jumping, stamping, dancing, and an unintelligible jargon. Toutouka was the name of the evil deity, represented as an ugly, ill-natured being, who was a special enemy to Hottentots, and the author of all mischief. Pain and sickness were attributed to witchcraft, against which amulets and charms were used as protections. Although no idea of future rewards or punishments existed, there was evidently a belief in the immortality of the soul, as prayers were offered up to good Hottentots departed, and the dread of the influence of spirits was so great that, on the death of any one, the kraal in which he or she expired was immediately removed to another position. Perhaps the most singular religious custom of these savages was their veneration of a particular kind of insect (Mantis), the appearance of which was supposed to be an omen of good luck. The following extract from the Journal kept at the

Cape of Good Hope in 1691* refers to this subject:—
“19th February.—His Honour (the Governor Simon van der Stell) entered into a particularly friendly conversation with some Hottentots, who, in confidence, revealed to him that they worshipped a certain god, whose head was no larger than a fist, who had a hole on his back, and was large and broad of body, whom they implored for help when they suffered from hunger, or were in any other peril. Their wives sprinkled his head with red sand, buchu, and other aromatic herbs, and made him offerings of various kinds.”

The Bushmen are described by the missionary Adolph Bonatz as of small stature and dirty-yellow colour, with repulsive countenances, in which there was a prominent forehead, small, deeply-seated, and roguish eyes, with a much-depressed nose and thick projecting lips. Their constitution is so much injured by their dissolute habits, and the constant smoking of durha, that both old and young look wrinkled and decrepit; nevertheless, they are fond of ornament, and decorate their ears, arms, and legs with beads, iron, copper, or brass rings. The women also stain their faces red, or paint them. Their only clothing, by day or night, is a mantle of sheepskin, which they term a kaross. The dwelling of the Bushman is a low hut, or a circular cavity, on the open plain, in which he creeps at night, with his wife and children, and which, although it shelters him from the wind, leaves him exposed to the rain. They had formerly their occupations among the rocks, in which are still seen rude figures of horses, oxen, or serpents.† Many of them lived like wild beasts, in

* Quoted in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. iii. p. 35.

† Barrow thus describes some of these drawings (vol. i., p. 193):
“On the smooth sides of the cavern were drawings of various animals that had been made from time to time by these savages. Many of them were caricatures, but others were too well executed not to arrest our attention. The different antelopes that were there delineated had each their character so well delineated that the originals from whence the representations had been taken could without any difficulty be ascertained. Among the numerous animals that were drawn, the figure

rocky retreats, to which they returned with joy after escaping from the service of the colonists. These fugitives were continually occupied with their bows and arrows.* On their return from the chase they feasted till they became drowsy, while in seasons of scarcity they were forced to be contented with wild roots, ants' eggs, locusts, and snakes.

Most South African travellers speak in favour of the character and disposition of the Hottentots. Le Vaillant gives them full credit for fidelity and attachment. Burchell testifies to their intelligence, and Barrow almost rivals Kolben in his praise of their "talents, activity, and great fidelity" when well treated, stating, at the same time, "that an opposite treatment has been productive

of a zebra was remarkably well executed; all the marks and character of this animal were accurately represented, and the proportions seemingly correct. *Several crosses, circles, points, and lines were placed in a long row, as if intended to express some meaning.*"

* Barrow thus describes the ancient bow and arrows of the natives (vol. i., page 99):—"These men carried the ancient weapons of their nation,—bows and quivers charged with poisoned arrows. The bow was a plain piece of wood from the *guerrie bosch*, which is apparently a species of rhus, and sometimes the assagai wood is used for the same purpose. The string, three feet long, was composed of the fibres of the dorsal muscles of the springbok, twisted into a cord. The stem of an aloe furnished the quiver. The arrow consisted of a reed, in one extremity of which was inserted a piece of highly polished solid bone from the leg of an ostrich, round, and about five inches in length; the intent of it seemed to be that of giving weight, strength, and easy entrance to this part of the arrow. To the end of the bone was affixed a small sharp piece of iron of the form of an equilateral triangle; and the same string of sinews that bound this tight to the bone served also to contain the poison between the threads and over the surface, which was applied in the consistence of wax or varnish. The string tied in also at the same time a piece of sharp quill pointed towards the opposite end of the arrow, which was not only meant to increase the difficulty of drawing it out, but also to rankle and tear the flesh, and to bring the poison more in contact with the blood. The whole length of the arrow was barely two feet. There are several plants in South Africa from which the Hottentots are said to extract their poisons; but the poison taken from the heads of snakes, mixed with the juices of certain bulbous-rooted plants, is what they mostly

of a contrary effect. The poor Hottentot bears it with patience or sinks under it; but on the temper and the turn of the mind of the Bosjesman it has a very different effect. He takes the first opportunity of escaping to his countrymen. With tales of cruelty he excites them to revenge; he assists them in their plans of attack, tells them the strength of the whole district and of individuals."

In *Observations Relative to the Origin and History of the Bushmen*, by Andrew Smith, M.D., M.W.S., &c.,* the Hottentots are stated to have been divided into distinct tribes, each of which was more or less governed by its own laws. Amongst those, one division always held a most conspicuous position, and has ever been proverbial for its troublesome character and universally outrageous conduct. To this the other tribes, as well as its own members, applied the name of Saap or Saan. Dr. Smith quotes the *Diary of a Journey made by Governor Van der Stell*, and a document referred to by Dr. Philip† to prove

depend upon." When an animal was killed by a poisoned arrow "they immediately cut away the flesh round the wound, and squeeze out the blood from the carcase, after which they know from experience that the flesh taken into the stomach will do them no injury." Sparrman describes the native quivers (vol. i., page 200) to be two feet long and four inches in diameter, made of the branch of a tree hollowed out, or of the bark of one of the branches, the bottom and cover being composed of leather—on the outside bedaubed with unctuous matter, which grows hard when dry. "Both the quivers I brought with me," he says, "are lined about the aperture with a serpent's skin. Besides a dozen arrows, every quiver contains a slender hone of sandstone for whetting the head, and a brush for putting on the poison, together with a few wooden sticks differing in thickness, but all the same length of the arrows." Burchell says that the Kerree tree was mostly used for Bushmen's bows, and that their quivers were usually made of some thick hide, as of the ox or kama, but the natives more towards the West Coast frequently use the branches of the aloe. In *European Colonies*, by John Hewison, the author says (vol. i., page 264):—"Mr. Ryneveld, the Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet, informed me that the venom extracted from the body of a large black spider was the kind of poison which the Bushmen esteemed best."

* Published in the *South African Quarterly Journal*, No. ii. p. 171.

† *Researches in South Africa*, vol. i. page 37.

that Bushmen tribes existed anterior to the arrival of Europeans, and were not called into existence by the persecutions of the colonists. The little intercourse which they had with each other, and the absence of almost every kind of property, rendered them strangers to the objects of laws, and consequently unconscious of the benefits of a regular government. They had therefore rarely either hereditary or permanently-elected rulers, and few were disposed to acknowledge any superiority except that which physical strength secured. In war or the chase, they unconsciously gave place in the former to the bravest and most dexterous, and in the latter to the most experienced and cunning. They had no established laws by which offences were tried, nor punishments by which aggressions were revenged; every individual was his own law-giver, and every crime was punished according to the caprice of the sufferer, or the relative position and relations of the implicated parties. This absence of any system rendered punishments very unequal, and extremely disproportionate. It often permitted the greatest injuries to be inflicted with impunity, and others of the most insignificant character to be visited with the most hideous vengeance. They appeared to look upon every stranger as an enemy, and only waiting a favourable opportunity to injure them. The dictates of their own hearts did not lead them to forgive injuries, so that it was only a conviction or belief of inability that induced them occasionally to forego a punishment; and as they were in the habit of feeling and acting in relation to others, so they naturally fancied others would feel and act in regard to them. Bushmen pertinaciously avoided communication with foreigners. They were deeply versed in deceit, and treacherous in the extreme, being always prepared to effect by guile and perfidy what they otherwise were unable to accomplish. Numberless proofs can be given of the treachery of these savages. A missionary at the Zak River, sitting one sultry evening at his window, was startled by a shower of poisoned arrows shot into the room by a concealed party of Bushmen. The lives of

harmless clergymen were never safe, and an unreasoning and deadly animosity to every white man seemed to animate the entire race. If we are to believe the *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, "they take no great care of their children, and never correct them except in a fit of rage, when they almost kill them with severe usage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the several wives of a husband, the defeated party wreaks his or her revenge on the child of the conqueror, which in general loses its life. Tame Hottentots seldom destroy their offspring, except in a fit of passion; but the Bushmen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions—as when they are ill-shaped, or when they are in want of food. There are instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering be made to him."*

The Bushmen were brave to an eminent degree; but revolting cruelty was familiar to them, and revenge one of their ruling passions. Their eager desire for retribution was so great that an innocent man, if he were only of the same nation as the offender, was made to pay the penalty of the crime. Extreme indolence, and a love of animal food incited to constant thefts, which brought down the vengeance of the irritated and impoverished farmers. The larvæ of ants and grasshoppers, locusts and roots, served as food when no flesh meat was procurable, while great endurance under the sufferings of hunger was compensated for by brutal gluttony and intemperance when abundance was procurable.† The most rude and

* Kicherer in *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, vol. ii. p. 8.

† In a diary of a journey made by Governor Van der Stell, in 1685, occurs the following passage:—"They were all of them (the natives) very lean and of a slender make, which is the consequence of the great hunger and hardships they suffer. They have no food except the bulbs of plants, tortoises, a sort of large caterpillar and locusts. His Honour the Commander ordered a sheep to be killed and cooked, with which, in addition to rice and bread, they were feasted, and which they consumed so greedily that it seemed as if they never would be satiated.

primitive clothing, the meanest superstitions, and the most wretched huts or holes for dwellings, proved that the natives were sunk exceedingly low in the scale of humanity. On the other hand, the strange anomalies of a certain advance in the art of drawing, shown in the caverns they inhabited; in the possession of a high class of language, evidently Coptic; and the display of unlooked-for intelligence and fidelity, serve to redeem their character from the unmitigated censure it would otherwise deserve.

In the old ethnological classification of Blumenbach, the Hottentot races are styled "Ethiopian;" but Dr. Latham places them under the division "Atlantidæ," in the following manner:—

- A. Negro Atlantidæ.
- B. Kaffre Atlantidæ.
- C. Hottentot Atlantidæ. 1. Hottentots. 2. Saabs. 3. Damaras.
- D. Nilotic Atlantidæ. Gallas, Agons, Nubians, &c.
- E. Amazirgh Atlantidæ.
- F. Egyptian Atlantidæ.
- G. Semitic Atlantidæ. Syrians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Edomites, Jews, Samaritans, Arabs, Canaanites, &c.

Barrow, in his *South African Travels*,* says:—"When we reflect on the Hottentot nation, which, with all its tribes, occupies, as it were, a point only on a great continent—when we consider them as a people differing in so extraordinary a manner from every race of men, not only upon it, but upon the face of the whole globe, the natural formation of their persons, their colour, language, manners, and way of life, being peculiar to themselves—conjecture is at a loss to suggest from whence they could have derived their origin." This writer sees a likeness to the Chinese, and attributes it to the fact that the

He then presented them with some brandy, with which they made themselves merry, and danced, sung, and shouted in a strange manner, so as to resemble a herd of calves which were let loose for the first time from their place of confinement. It was, without doubt, and according to their own acknowledgment, that this had been the only merry day they had in their lifetime."

* Vol. i. p. 238.

Egyptians and Chinese were originally one people, and that the Hottentots are descended from the former. Strange as it may seem, many powerful arguments can be adduced in support of the opinion that the Hottentots and Bushmen came from Nilotic lands, and that, driven by enemies, or incited by other causes, they migrated from a northern portion of the continent to its most southern shores. Barrow seems confident that the Bosjesmans or Bushmen were the Pigmies and Troglodytes who are said to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Nile, and quotes the character of some Ethiopian nations described by Diodorus Siculus, as agreeing exactly with theirs. The special points of likeness, according to this writer, are a gross brutality which prevailed in all their manners and customs; shrill, dissonant voices, scarcely human; language almost inarticulate; and wearing no sort of clothing. Besides, the Ethiopian soldiers, when in battle, stuck poisoned arrows within a fillet bound round the head, and the Bushmen did exactly the same, for the double purpose of expeditious shooting, and of striking terror into the minds of their enemies.

There can be no doubt that the Hottentot language belongs to the same family as the Coptic, the old Egyptian, and the Ethiopic, and we have the assurance of Dr. Bleek that the first-named preserves best the original structure of these languages. Of the Hottentot species there are said to be four distinct dialects, called the Nama, Cora, Gonah, and Cape—the first of which, still spoken in Namaqualand, is the purest.* The Bushman language

* In Sir George Grey's Library, Cape Town, interesting Hottentot vocabularies can be referred to in *The Life of Ludolf*, by Joncker, and Leibnitz's *Collectanea Etymologica*. On the Hottentot language are a *Grammar and Vocabulary*, by Henry Tindall; the Rev. J. C. Wallman's *Hottentot Grammar*; the *Library of His Excellency Sir George Grey*; *Philology*, by W. H. I. Bleek; and articles on South African philology in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, by this writer. A valuable Hottentot vocabulary was sent to Holland from the Cape in 1664, which is referred to in the following terms by Governor Wagenaar, in a despatch to the Council of Seventeen:—"In the year 1659 there came hither as a volunteer a certain student, a native of Brunswick,

differs mainly from the Hottentot by possessing more clacks and nasal peculiarities.

There is very good authority for saying that the Kafirs borrowed many of their customs, and the particular clicks in their language, from the Hottentots; and Dr. Bleek is convinced that the Hottentots extended formerly far more to the north-east than we have any evidence of. Kafir aggression drove this people to the position in which Van Riebeeck and the Dutch settlers found them, so it must be remembered that, when they fell into a Dutch Charybdis, they only did so in trying to escape a Kafir Scylla.

All the languages south of the Line, except that of the Hottentots and Bushmen, are now acknowledged to belong to the "Bantu" family, while, in some respects, a curious analogy can be drawn between the manners and customs of the Hottentots and those of North African nations. In opposition to the practice of the Kafirs and other South African tribes, the use of bows and arrows has always markedly distinguished the Hottentots, and we know that in Egypt and other North African countries the bow was constantly used in warfare. Kolben positively states that the Hottentots used to worship the moon, and the custom of refusing to eat pork and such fish as have no scales, as well as the habit of serving the parents-in-law for their

named Georgius Frederickus Wreede, who having, from the date of his arrival here, had a great desire to acquire the language of these Hottentots, has diligently studied the same, and has now advanced so far that he has not only occasionally done good service to the Company with interpretation, but has now succeeded in committing to paper a vocabulary, or compendium, as he calls it, of the Dutch and Otentoo languages, which latter he, for the present, expresses by Greek characters." The Chamber of Seventeen, in reply, acknowledge the receipt of the vocabulary, and state that they had resolved to print it. Mr. Moodie, when compiling the Record of Cape Proclamations, &c., could find no trace of it, and in 1857 the Government of Holland, upon an application from Sir George Grey, through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, made an unavailing search for it in their archives. 1868.—The Colonial Parliament has just authorised £100 to be paid to Dr. Bleek to enable him to continue his great work,

wives, as Jacob did for Leah and Rachel, are all adduced as arguments in favour of their North African origin.* We have already seen that, in Dr. Latham's ethnological classification, the Hottentot race is ranked under the same great division with the Nilotic and Egyptian Atlantidæ; so there seems good reason to conclude that the comparatively puny tribes whom the Dutch settlers supposed to be aborigines of Southern Africa were merely refugees driven from their ancient homes in the north of the continent by means of wars and persecutions lasting throughout centuries. No records are preserved, either in songs or tradition, which can throw any light upon the events which occurred previous to the arrival of Europeans in South Africa, and the poor fragments of history which have been gathered from themselves are of a legendary character and refer to a comparatively recent period. Messrs. Arbousset and Daumas (French missionaries) allude to a Hottentot named Hemto, who informed them that some eight generations back there dwelt at the Cape a chief called Kora, whose name was conferred on a tribe (Korannas). According to tradition, the Europeans besought Kora to give them as much land as they could surround with an ox-hide cut into thongs. This was granted, but soon the strangers began to encroach, and war was the consequence. Kora died young, and had Eikomo as a successor. This latter chief could not long resist, and was

* The reason the Hottentot men do not eat hares is stated as follows in Knudsen's *Gross Namaqualand* (Barmen, 1848), quoted by Dr. Bleek:—"The moon dies, and rises to life again. The moon said to the hare, 'Go thou to the men and tell them—Like as I die and rise to life again, so you shall die also and rise to life again.' The hare went to the men and said, 'Like as I die and do not rise to life again, so you shall also die and not rise to life again.' When he returned the moon asked him, 'What hast thou said?' 'I have told them, like as I die and do not rise to life again, so you shall also die and not rise to life again.' 'What!' said the moon, 'hast thou said that?' And he took a stick and beat him on his mouth, which by the blow got slit. The hare fled, and is still fleeing." "We are now angry with the hare," say the old Namaquas, "because he brought so bad a message, and therefore we disdain to eat his flesh."

ultimately driven back to the River Braak. Proceeding further north, he arrived among a numerous tribe of Hottentots wandering on the banks of the Orange River, and called Baroas (Bushmen). He entered into a treaty with them, settled in their country, and was succeeded by Knebib, Kongap, Kuenonkeip, Makabute, and Kaup.

Visions of El Dorado, and fanciful conjectures relative to lands where gold and ivory were abundant, filled the minds of the early colonists, and a spirit of adventure constantly incited them to send exploring parties into the interior. Jan Duckert and others set out in 1660, across the Berg and Olifants River, with the intention of proceeding to "Monomatapa." They probably only reached Namaqualand, and must have been thoroughly disappointed with their South African travels.

An Emperor of the Hottentot race, living in the far interior, was more than once referred to by the natives; and the customs and manners of the savages, as well as the nature of the country, were investigated by several explorers. Among these travellers was Pieter Meerhoff, an under surgeon of the Company, who on one occasion was surprised by the apparition of a "monsterouse vis." He says, "I took my gun and went a little way down the river to shoot a bird, and I saw a living monster in the water with three heads like cats' heads, and three long tails."*

On the 19th May, 1660, a large French ship, named *Le Marischal*, bound to the Bay of St. Augustin, in Madagascar, was driven from her anchorage in Table Bay, and wrecked at the mouth of the Salt River. The passengers consisted of a Governor, a Bishop, and their attendants, all of whom were subjected to the ignominy of being made prisoners. While the vessel lay a wreck, and the Roman Catholic Bishop was still on board, Van Riebeeck caused a proclamation to be read declaring that no divine worship

* This Jan Meerhoff afterwards married Eva, the interpreter. There is a Bushman superstition (Moodie says, page 231) that many of their race are devoured by an amphibious animal with three legs.

except that of the Dutch Reformed Church was to be permitted.

As the Commander had frequently declared his wish to be removed, Mr. Gerrit Van Horn was appointed his successor. This officer, however, died on his voyage to the settlement, and on the 18th of June the vessel in which he had left Holland entered Table Bay. In a despatch from the Government, addressed to Van Horn, a reference is made to his desire to found a city, which is looked upon as an absurd and chimerical idea, to be at once abandoned.

The "free burghers," constantly smarting under the restrictive regulations of the Company, consisted of an inferior class of men, including discharged sailors and soldiers, as well as wanderers from Germany, Denmark, Portugal, and Flanders, who were always prone to discontent, and proved a perpetual source of trouble and annoyance. Van Riebeeck having forwarded to the Government a petition from these men, for redress of grievance, was informed in reply that he ought to have torn it up in their presence, as it was full of sedition and mutiny. By this time the number of burghers had considerably increased. In 1657, under instructions from Commissioner Van Gous, nine soldiers, sailors, and labourers of the Company had been released from their engagements, and given land to cultivate apart from the Government farms. Seed and implements were sold to them on credit, and certain specific conditions were made, which provided that after three years they should be put in possession of all the land that they had cultivated, forbade any traffic with the natives, and ordered that all purchases should be made from the Government at fixed prices. Stock and produce were to be disposed of to the Company, and one-tenth of the increase was to accrue to it. After the fruit and vegetables in the Government Garden had been disposed of, burghers might then sell to crews of Dutch ships, but not to those of foreigners. "On all which conditions," the contract states, "their freedom hath been granted." In 1658 the freemen were fourteen in number,

and then earnestly begged to be permitted to enjoy the fruit of their industry, as "they did not become free in order to be the Company's slaves." On the 9th of April, 1662, Van Riebeeck states, in a despatch to Government, that "the prices have seemed to you excessive." It is, therefore, clear, that they were fixed by the colonial authorities. As time rolled on, so did Burgher dissatisfaction increase, and we shall soon find it assuming such proportions as to threaten to burst the bonds of monopoly and repression.

Zacharias van Wagenaar, who had been appointed Commander, having at last arrived, Van Riebeeck was able to leave the colony for Batavia, with his wife and family, early in the year 1662. The character of this Governor has been both extravagantly praised and unjustly censured. He was an energetic and laborious man, who attended assiduously to the interests of his masters. Neither cruel nor revengeful to the natives, simply because it was impolitic to be so, and his instructions imperatively ordered him to pursue a different course, he was, at the same time, of opinion that the most troublesome Hottentot tribes should be made slaves and sent out of the country, and he strongly recommended the seizure of all their cattle. He was neither liberal nor enlightened, fixed prices of articles at rates which even the Company considered excessive, and was easily persuaded to favour chimerical schemes. Patience, forbearance, and perseverance, however, are all distinguishable in his successful efforts to found a settlement; and the Dutch East India Company possessed in Van Riebeeck a most indefatigable and faithful officer.*

* During his term of office Van Riebeeck obtained a grant of ground described at its sale in 1665 as "101 morgen of cultivated land under the Boschheuvel." This was within a few miles of Cape Town. Various assertions have been made with regard to a purchase of land from the natives by Van Riebeeck, but they are all without foundation. Van Riebeeck's son eventually became Governor-General of the Dutch Indian possessions.

The new Commander (Van Wagenaar) was formally installed on the 6th May, 1662, and had the satisfaction of being able to report that the Settlement was at perfect peace with the Hottentots and that he had heard of no thefts. This officer represents the free men as "lazy, drunken fellows, who care as little for their Dutch servants as for beasts," and observes "that they attempt in every way to undermine the Company in their cattle trade." As he found the windows of the Fort only protected by cotton cloth, he begs for a supply of glass and lead, and some time subsequently has to ask for earthenware dishes, &c., as "he is ashamed that passengers should see the garrison and the greater part of the farmers eating without spoons."

The loss of the island of St. Helena by the Dutch rendered the Cape a more valuable possession, and its retention was now absolutely necessary for the purposes of Eastern trade. In 1663,* the yearly Dutch fleet, to which Van Wagenaar was ordered "to give contentment," comprised fourteen ships and two thousand three hundred men, exclusive of women and children. At this time the Company's land produced 545 muids of wheat per annum, and the free men were able to raise 99 muids. The yearly expenditure amounted to £38,773 and the revenue to £32,000.

It was frequently difficult to obtain sheep and cattle from the natives by barter, and the records of the early history of the Colony are full of uninteresting accounts of purchasing and bargaining. A petty huxtering system of trade had necessarily to be carried on, and the Hottentots, when they perceived how desirous the settlers were to obtain cattle, raised their prices considerably. At last, in 1664, the "unreasonable demand" was made for a cow of "a piece of tobacco long enough to reach from the point

* A strange outrage is recorded to have been committed by a Dutch captain on an English crew on the 1st January, 1663. In order to make these men confess where certain supposed treasures lay concealed, lighted matches were placed between their fingers, and other tortures resorted to.

of the cow's tail over the back to the horns, and the same proportion for sheep." On Sunday, 6th January, 1664, "the Lord's Day ended in the usual manner, but, notwithstanding, we had to traffic with these heathens for only two sheep."

In considering the subject of the Hottentot language, a reference has already been made to a native vocabulary reduced to writing in the Greek character by a volunteer named Wreede.* Encouragement was given to this man by the Government, and they showed some disposition to improve the condition of the natives. Wagenaar's regulations regarding the school provided that half a dollar per month should be paid to the teacher for each ten instructed, and that two children by Hottentot women should be taught *pro Deo*. As there was only one chaplain in the Settlement, and the office sometimes remained vacant, it can be imagined that no missionary effort of any consequence was attempted; and in this respect the Dutch settlers, as well as the Home Government, appear to have been thoroughly indifferent. The Company certainly desired that the natives should not be ill-used, and several of their officers expressed a hope that many of the Hottentots might be converted, but no effective effort was ever made to attain that object. The heathen were left to sit in darkness, and to learn only the vices of civilization.

The free burghers were continually grumbling and giving trouble. Having complained to the Commissioner Overtwater that they had to pay very high wages to their servants, the price of corn was raised to satisfy them. They were always poor and dissatisfied. Van Wagenaar, writing of them in 1666, says:—"Many have ceased to work, and have implored to be received back into the Company's service, or at least to be permitted to earn their subsistence in some other way, or to set up shops near the fort, to

* Wreede misbehaved himself, and was consequently sent to Mauritius, but afterwards returned, and was appointed to the charge of the Saldanha Bay fort.

retail brandy to the garrison or ships' crews." Of the worst characters he remarks :—" In the event of a hostile attack they would be the first to go over to the enemy, and to assist them ; aye, there be among them some who have long since wished and prayed that the English fleet might but come hither to convey them from this ' devil's land' (as they call it) to some other place." These men are styled " lazy and worthless" rogues. Three of them were sent to Mauritius, and it was probably some of this class of people who were sentenced by the Court of Justice to pay forty guilders and forty reals for stealing a cow belonging to the Hottentots, which the Company had to replace. As the female population was not sufficient, a number of respectable young females were sent out from Holland to be married.

Wagenaar was quite as tired of his government as Van Riebeeck had been, and earnestly desired to be relieved. In one despatch he asks for two bells to enliven the farmers " in this lonely place," and his melancholy was increased by the death of his wife while residing at the Cape.

Traffic in slaves had commenced. On the 8th October, 1664, the *Lion*, of 124 tons, arrived from Madagascar with a cargo of blacks, who are described as all sitting naked on board ship. The captain wanted no less than £50 for each " of his lean slaves," and afterwards would not sell.

Instructions having been given to Commissioner Isbrand Goske to build a new fort at a distance of sixty roods from the old one, that officer arrived at the Cape ^{August 19} during the year 1665, and took precedence of Van Wagenaar. This year was further signalized by an unsuccessful attempt to surprise and capture an English man-of-war, named the *King Charles*, then lying in Table Bay.*

* Wild animals abounded at this time. The cattle of the Company were often destroyed by them, and " furious and terrible lions" are frequently mentioned. Small-pox and measles were epidemic in 1663 and 1665.

As Van Wagenaar could not be induced to remain by offers of an increase of salary, Cornelis van Quaelberg was at last appointed his successor. This officer reached the Colony in the ship *Dordrecht*, and his first proclamation, dated 20th January, 1667, strictly forbids anyone with malice prepense striking or beating any native. His hospitality and civility to a French officer of high rank, homeward bound, proved extremely distasteful to the Company. In a despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen, they express the greatest dissatisfaction that, independent of the kind reception given, Quaelberg should have quitted his post in the fort to welcome the Admiral, in direct opposition to military law, besides supplying him with all necessaries. Water is to be given to Europeans, but as "little refreshment as possible." The Company also found fault with the Commander for keeping too large a garrison and not charging more for provisions—ordered him at once to leave the Cape for Batavia, and appointed Jacob Borghorst his successor. This last-named officer reached Table Bay on the 16th of January, 1668, after a voyage of five months and nineteen days.

The new Commander found that the cattle trade with the Hottentots had much declined, and some time after his arrival received strict instructions that the garrison at the fort was not to comprise more than 187 men.

The early records of the Colony are full of petty details, which, although of little interest, are occasionally useful in so far as they show the rigid and uniform policy which was carried out. The poor little settlement was cramped and fettered in every direction, and the motto of its rulers seemed to be that everything was to conduce to the pecuniary profit of the Company. In spite, however, of the narrow polity on which its system of domestic government was based, a spirit of discovery and enterprise is always discernible.

Several expeditions set out at various times to explore the interior and the coast. The *Grundel*, hooker, was sent

by Commander Hackius in 1670, in a northerly direction, and afterwards went to the eastward. At the bay of "Os Medos de Cura," seventeen men, who had been dispatched in search of firewood and water, were left behind; and on this voyage Kafirs were met with, who are described "as men of good disposition." The *Flying Swan* went in search of the lost sailors, but was, unfortunately, unable to find them. So far back as 1662, a party, under the command of Sergeant de la Guerre, sought for the Orange River, which was then styled "Vigita Magna;" and Corporal Cruise, with fifteen men, went to the east coast in 1668. Algoa Bay was first visited by the Dutch in 1669. In this last-mentioned year orders were received by Borghorst to take possession of Saldanha Bay, in consequence of the French having erected a column there on which their arms were inscribed.

The Council of Seventeen being under the impression that valuable minerals might be obtained at the Cape, sent out several miners to search for the precious metals. We shall see that, at a subsequent period, futile efforts were again made in this direction.

Pieter Hackius was appointed Commander in 1670, and was ordered to plant brushwood and trees for fuel. During this year the Dutch Eastern fleet had 4,000 men on board, and, at its departure, left 807 oxen and 6,182 sheep. Commander Hackius having died, Isbrand Goske was appointed as *Governor* of the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1672, and the building of the new Fort was commenced.*

No purchase of land had yet been made from the natives, but in 1672, Commissioner van Overbeek was of opinion that, "for the prevention of much future cavilling," an agreement ought to be entered into with some Hottentots whereby they should declare the Dutch to be the rightful and lawful possessors of the Cape district and

* The new Castle was placed sixty roods to the east of the old Fort, which thus must have stood near the east end of the Grand Parade. The site, in "the sink of Table Bay," was an exceedingly bad one, commanded by the surrounding heights.

its dependencies, in consideration of a specified sum of money. Such a contract was soon entered into with the Captain Manckhagou, *alias* Schacher, as Hereditary Sovereign (Erf Heer) of the lands. This Prince delivered over the whole district of the Cape of Good Hope, from Lion's Hill to Saldanha Bay inclusive, with dependencies, for 4,000 reals of eight paid in merchandize, and the Dutch agreed to allow him and his herds to come and go without hindrance near to the outermost farms of the district. Prince Schacher also specially undertook to assist in driving away any European invader. The deed is signed with the marks of Schacher and T. Tachouw, a Hottentot chief, and by Van Overbeek and Van Brengel, Dutch Commissioners. As the value paid was only nominal, this transaction must be looked upon as a sop to the Cerberus of European criticism as well as the foundation of a legal claim to the land against all comers. Van Riebeek considered that the territory near the Fort had been lawfully conquered in defensive war, and the settlers who landed with him never dreamt of purchasing land from savages.* Governor Isbrand Goske, on the 10th of May, 1673, refers to the contract just alluded to, and also to a separate one concerning Hottentots Holland, purchased from its lawful Sovereign, Prince Dhour.†

* See Moodie's Records.

† It is interesting to refer to some of the punishments inflicted upon offenders. Thuintje Van Warden, the wife of a burgher, having been convicted of evil speaking against other women, was sentenced to retract the slander, ask forgiveness, be bound to a post for one hour, and then suffer banishment for six weeks to Robben Island. A few years afterwards, two soldiers were flogged and sent to work in irons during four months for stealing a few vegetables, which was declared "to be an offence tending to the ruin of this growing Colony." On the 10th January, 1672, the gibbet "upon which the female Hottentoo was recently hanged" had fallen down. "The said Hottentoo was again suspended on the gibbet for the satisfaction of justice." A Hottentot woman having hanged herself, it is related that "on the body falling to the ground it was found that Satan had already taken possession of her brutal soul." The body was subsequently gibbeted "for the fowls of the air to devour."

On the 9th of September, 1673, almost all the Company's working oxen were drowned in the quicksands at the mouth of the Salt River, and on the 4th of October of this year the fluyt *Zoetendaal* was lost near L'Agulhas. The shipwrecked crew underwent the most frightful privations, and were reduced to eat grass and a drowned horse to sustain existence. About this time a Hollander named Ten Rhyne published a description of the Cape and the country of the Hottentots, which conveyed some idea of this *terra incognita* to his countrymen.

CHAPTER IV.

Numerous Placaats—"Positive Orders"—Building of the Castle—Governor Goske, Commander Crudax—Statistics—War with the Tribes under Gonnema—Dutch Native Policy—Attempt to form a Settlement at Natal—Description of the Country—Arrival of the elder Van der Stell—Foundation of Stellenbosch—Account of a Shipwreck by a Siamese Mandarin—Father Tachard's Expeditions—War between Holland and France—Narrative of the Capture of French Ships of War in Table Bay.

If the possession of a cumbrous Statute Law were any sign of advanced civilization, we should be apt to suppose that the Cape progressed admirably. Van Riebeeck issued no fewer than seventy-five placaats or proclamations having the force of law, and his successors followed this example, while Commissioners continually left lengthy memoranda of instructions for the guidance of the Commanders at the Cape.* The confusion which naturally followed had become so great, that when Goske visited the Colony as a Commissioner, in 1671, he found it necessary to direct the formation of the "Positive Orders," a volume containing an alphabetical digest of all the instructions issued since the foundation of the Colony. The general tenor of these commands from the Home Government, whether issued in despatches or expressed by memoranda from Commissioners, earnestly desired that every endeavour should be used to make the settlement as little burdensome to the Company as possible,† and also urged the encouragement of agriculture, and the treatment of the natives with forbearance, so as to avoid hostilities.

The placaats of the Commanders in the Colony were of course echoes of the instructions received from home.

* The numerous and conflicting orders of these Commissioners made it apparent that their interference was more injurious than useful.—(See these Memoranda, *in extenso*, in Moodie's Records.)

† From 1659 to 1681, the Cape Settlement cost the Company £1,005,207 14 10, after deduction of all the profits. The expenses of the shipping only amounted to £451,971 14 9.

Prices were fixed and arbitrary regulations made, for the profit and gain of the Company; stringent laws against trading with the Hottentots and planting tobacco were continually fulminated, and anything tending to provoke native animosity was sharply reprehended and punished. The administration of justice was one of the chief duties of the Commander, and the thievish propensities of both Hottentots and settlers furnished him abundant occupation. From the memorandum left by Wagenaar, for the information of Van Quaelberg, it would appear that the Court of Justice, with whom the Commander occasionally decided such civil and criminal cases as were brought before him, consisted of "the Merchant and second in command (who had also charge of the money-chest, account-books, and storehouse), the Lieutenant, the Fiscal (C. de Cretser*), the Ensign, and the Junior Merchant." A record of decisions in criminal cases has been preserved, and although many of the sentences appear extremely severe, it must be remembered that they were in accordance with the spirit of the times, and inflicted among a community of an exceptive and peculiar character.

A few of the punishments may now be quoted, as illustrative of the manner in which justice was administered. 1672.—Feb. 11.—Four of Captain Gonnema's Hottentots, for assault and robbery of sheep. Sentence—first, second, and third prisoners to be flogged, branded, and banished to Robben Island in chains for fifteen years; fourth and fifth prisoners to be flogged, and banished for seven years. (Prisoners escaped to the main land on the 4th January, 1673.) Three soldiers, found guilty of violent assault with swords, and of prison-breaking, were condemned as follows:—First prisoner to be thrice flogged at the gallows, sword to be broken at his feet, dismissed from the service, and to work six years in chains. No. 2, one hundred lashes, and one and a half years in chains.

* This Fiscal committed homicide, and fled from the colony. A despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen to Governor Goske, dated 28th September, 1673, states that "the Merchant Cornelis de Cretser was captured by the Turks, and is still a slave at Algiers."

No. 3, fifty lashes, one year in chains. Each to forfeit six months pay, *pro jisco*. On the 17th August, 1672, J. Jans, freeman, having been found guilty of picking the pockets of a drunken man, was sentenced to have his property confiscated, to be flogged, and to work in chains for three years. It is mentioned in aggravation that the prisoner not only got drunk himself, but intoxicated the dogs and pigs also, with sugar and eggs mixed with wine. Four soldiers, for inciting others to mutiny, and to demand a greater allowance of food, were sentenced as follows:—Two of the prisoners to be hanged, and the other two flogged, and to labour in chains for twenty-five years,—life or death to be decided by drawing lots. September 22, 1673.—Tryntje Theunissen, free woman, H. Cornelissen, and Jan Theunissen, her late servants, for concealing in her herd, and slaughtering two cows, *apparently belonging to some of the Hottentots*, sentenced as follows:—The first prisoner to be bound to a post at the place of execution, with a halter round her neck, and a cowhide above her head, to be severely flogged, branded, and confined on Robben Island for twelve years, to make good the stolen cattle, and to forfeit all her property. The other prisoners to be flogged, a cow's hide suspended over their heads, to be placed in chains* at public works for six years, and to forfeit all their property. Three slaves, for desertion, and inciting others thereto (in hopes of reaching Angola, “not from want of proper support, but in hopes of having an easier life there”), sentenced to be severely flogged, their ears cut off, to be branded on the back and cheeks, and work for life in chains. On June 21, 1675, Aran, a slave, for killing a Hottentot accidentally, by discharging a gun which he did not know was loaded, sentenced to be flogged, branded, and to work in chains for life, “with expenses.” Two slaves, for stealing vegetables, were placed in a pillory, with cabbages overhead, flogged, and afterwards branded, their ears cut off, and

* The female cattle-stealer was relieved from the branding and the halter round her neck, and one of her servants from the flogging.

then placed in chains for life. On the 14th September, 1678, four Hottentots were condemned to be hanged for various robberies from cattle herds; and in May following a sailor was executed for stealing horses and endeavouring to desert.*

Isbrand Goske had not been appointed "Commander," but "Governor,"† and drew pay at the advanced rate of £200 per month, and £100 additional, "in consideration of the trouble of building the new Fortress." The defence of the Cape was considered a matter of great consequence, and the following is a brief *resumé* of what was done with a view to provide for it. Mr. Albrecht van Breugel,‡ who had been appointed to act till the arrival of Goske, reports to the Chamber of Seventeen, on the 19th April, 1672:—"With regard to your Honors' directions relative to the yeomanry and their exercise under arms, a company of ninety-three fine, active fellows, very adroit in the management of their weapons, were reviewed within the Fort." The erection of the Castle occupied several years, and serious doubts about the advisability of proceeding with it were for some time entertained. On the 20th November, 1667, the Chamber of Seventeen informed Commander Borghorst and Council, that they had fully considered all the arguments in favour of completing the Fortress that had been commenced, but could not as yet yield their consent. The plan of the Castle had been first received by the ship *Madenblink*, so far back as 24th December, 1664, and on the 8th June following "it was marked out in five great points or bulwarks encircling the

* Commissioner Van Goens, writing on the 20th March, 1681, says:—"You proceed too readily to infamous punishments. It appears to have grown into a practice to pay little attention to formalities and indispensable proofs."

† His successor, J. Bax van Herentals, was also appointed "Governor," but Simon van der Stell was sent out merely as "Commander."

‡ "1672. March 23.—Arrived. Mr. Albert van Breugel, appointed second in command, and to command until the arrival of Governor Goske." Coenraad van Breitenbagh administered the Government for a short time previously.

Fort." On August 26th, the Council, after much deliberation, resolved that "the new Royal Fortress" should be placed about sixty roods to the eastward of the Fort. Delay was caused by the hesitation just referred to; but this having been overcome, Governor Goske so vigorously advanced operations, that in consideration of this service he was rewarded by being relieved from his duties at his own urgent request.* Johan Bax van Herentals, commander at Gale, became Goske's successor at the Cape, and completed the work. It was, however, soon perceived to be almost useless, as it was commanded by the adjacent heights. We subsequently find Commissioner van Goens stating, in his memorandum to Van der Stell:—"As to the Castle, we have important reasons for silence—the thing is done, and is irreparable."

In the memorandum of instructions left by Goske for the information of his successor, he states that agriculture had daily retrograded during the whole of his residence at the Cape (three and a half years), and, notwithstanding every exertion, was little cared for by the inhabitants. The reoccupation of Saldanha Bay, as ordered by the Directors, is stated to have been postponed in consequence of the men having been much wanted to build the new Castle. Commissioner N. Verburg's memorandum, dated 15th March, 1676, animadverts upon "the mode in which successive commanders and others had from time to time built one thing or the other, each according to his own whim and fancy," and remarks that "now so complete a Castle is in progress this system must be put a stop to." Reference is made to the fact that no permanent schools had as yet been established, and Jan Wittebol, "a person of competent qualifications and good character," is appointed teacher. Verburg concludes by saying:—"The strength of the garrison is now 200 soldiers, besides about 150, consisting of officers, clerks, tradesmen, sailors, &c., over whom are three commissioned officers—a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign. This number we conceive

* Despatch dated 3rd November, 1671.

sufficient for the present defence of this place, as they may be always increased in time of need from the passing ships." Johan or Joan Bax van Herentals, who succeeded Governor Goske early in the year 1676, died at the Cape on the 29th June, 1678, to "the great grief of the freemen and the whole public."* It is worth noticing that a drought which occurred in 1676 was so severe that the crops partially failed, while "the barrenness of the pasture in every quarter caused a great mortality among the Company's cattle, as well as those of the freemen." A despatch from Holland, dated 16th May, 1676, approves of some farmers having been induced to settle at Hottentots Holland, on fourteen years' loan, and trusts that their industry will entitle them to look forward to obtaining freehold titles. The advancement of agriculture, and the reduction of expenditure, is, as usual, specially dwelt upon. The Directors, with good reason, desired that corn should be cultivated in large quantities, as rice had to be sent from Batavia to the Cape; and it never seemed that adequate exertions were made by the freemen to raise sufficient crops for the use of the Settlement. Governor Bax van Herentals, on March 23, 1677, issued a proclamation, earnestly urging the farmers to energetic efforts, as the Directors had said in distinct terms "that the country cannot be called a colony which is not able to produce its own corn." The constant search for minerals had been rewarded by the discovery of a mine at the "Lion's Head," close to Cape Town; but in 1677 operations were discontinued in consequence of the yield being only 6 to 12 per cent. of silver.

Hendrik Crudop or Crudax,† the second in command,

* A despatch (28th September, 1675) received in 1676, approved of the establishment of a board of Orphan Masters, Governor Goske having (20th May, 1674) brought to notice the frequency of re-marriage without provision being made for children. In Hall's Chronology the date of the establishment of this Orphan Chamber is erroneously given as 1673.

† It is often difficult to find out the correct spelling of proper names. Moodie's Records, Judge Watermeyer, and others, by no means agree.

was nominated provisional Commander-in-Chief by Governor Bax van Herentals, previous to his death in June, 1678, and held office merely till the arrival of a successor. In a despatch from the Council of the Cape of Good Hope to the Chamber of Seventeen, dated 18th April, 1679, the following statistical intelligence is conveyed:—"The Cape burghers now consist of 62 families, comprising 83 free males, 55 women, 117 Dutch or mixed children, 30 Dutch servants, and 191 slaves of both sexes; in all 486. Even in a favourable season, the crops will barely meet the annual consumption, and the grain besides does not go so far as rice in feeding the slaves." Moodie, in his Records, remarks that although agricultural failures were always attributed to the farmers, it does not seem that want of industry was the only obstacle to success, and instances a resolution, dated 27th November, 1679, in which it is determined "to assist some of the poorer farmers with oxen no longer on credit, or incumbered with any servitude of restitution, but in full property, *provided* that they be bound to pay the Company, previous to delivery, 24 guilders for each head. The cattle thus sold in full property, were not to be sold, killed, nor exchanged without *express leave*, and were to bear the Company's mark, and to be only used in agriculture, on pain of arbitrary correction.

Among the Hottentot tribes, quarrels and dissensions continually prevailed, and for several years the Chief Gonnema, with his allies, carried on an annoying war against the colonists. It is to this war we must now direct attention. So far back as 1671 the settlers had reason to complain, and Acting Commander Van Breugel, writing to the Chamber of Seventeen (19th April, 1672), states that "some of our native neighbours, namely, those under the Chief Gonnema, about eight months ago, cruelly massacred two of our burghers. Others of the said barbarians ventured, some three or four months ago, to attack a shepherd who was attending his flock, about an hour's distance from this fort, and to rob him of all he had." A declaration made by three Dutchmen, dated

12th November, 1672, states that having been licensed by Governor Goske to shoot sea-cows, they proceeded to Berg River, where Captain Gonnema, with thirty or forty Hottentots, robbed them of rice, tackling, powder, lead, knives, and tobacco, and threatened at the same time to take their lives if they spoke a word. Several other outrages were committed, and at last eight burghers having been surrounded and besieged on a point of land, so that they were in danger of perishing by hunger, Governor Goske considered it absolutely necessary to send out an armed force of thirty-six men, under Ensign Cruse, to deliver those people, and to take revenge upon Gonnema.* On the 14th July, 1673, the *Bridegroom* arrived from Saldanha Bay, bringing news that a corporal, a soldier, and two freemen had been murdered when bartering for sheep, and this intelligence effectually roused the Governor, who immediately sent eighteen mounted men to reinforce Cruse, and issued instructions that Gonnema's tribe should be entirely ruined and no males spared. As might have been expected, the Hottentots fled; but 800 horned cattle and 900 sheep were secured. On the 20th of August, four of Gonnema's people who had been captured by the Dutch allies were brought to the fort by Captains Schacher and Cuyper, and were given up to the tender mercies of their captors, who rushed upon them, calling out, "Beat the dogs to death," and, suiting their actions to these words, struck them with sticks until they expired. Governor Goske thus refers to another armed expedition sent out against the Gonnemas in March, 1674:—"We therefore sent out fifty soldiers, and fully as many burghers, under the command of our ensign, accompanied by about 250 Hottentots, who attacked him, and so handled him that, to all appearance, he will not think of coming in this direction, or of annoying the burghers. None of our people were killed or wounded; the greater part of the

* The resolution of Council is dated 11th July, 1673. Ensign Cruse and his party arrived too late. The eight burghers had been killed. Some remains of their clothes and other articles were found.

enemy's cattle, being fully 800 horned cattle and about 4,000 sheep, old and young, were taken as booty."

In November, 1675, Gonnema attacked the Cape Hottentots (allies of the settlers), killed several of them, and carried off a large number of cattle. A party of horse and foot was shortly afterwards sent out by the Governor; but, as usual, the pursuit of the enemy was unsuccessful. In March, 1676, under the rule of Bax van Herentals, three freemen were killed by a kraal of "Sonquas," who were known to be friends and dependents of the Gonnema tribe. His Excellency then proposed that this mischievous and hereditary enemy should be sought for without delay, and sent out an armed force under Lieut. Cruse. Other attempts were made subsequently; but none of them were crowned with complete success. The result of each expedition was that cattle and sheep were seized, and a few of the enemy killed. At last, in a despatch dated 14th March, 1677, Governor Bax van Herentals states it as his opinion that it would be well to "induce Gonnema's people to come to us themselves to pray for peace, as we conceive that we have now exacted sufficient revenge." On the 3rd of June, 1677, ambassadors from Gonnema stated at the Fort that this chief and his allies were inclined to enter into a treaty of peace, and on the 25th of the same month articles were agreed to which included stipulations that Gonnema and Oedaso, his ally, should request pardon of the Company, and pay a tribute of thirty horned cattle yearly. The entry in the journal, made on the day following (the 26th June), states that there is no reliance to be placed on the fidelity of those savage Africans, so that the subsequent partial and irregular payments of the cattle-fine must have created no surprise.

The subject of the relations of the Dutch Government with the native tribes is one of importance, and has been viewed in far from an impartial manner by several writers. For instance, in Montgomery Martin's large work on the British Colonies,* Van Riebeeck's conduct to

* Vol. iv., book 1. Cape of Good Hope.

the natives is denounced in a manner certainly not justified by the evidence; and Dr. Philip has the amazing hardihood to say "that all the records of the Colony, during the first fifty years of the Dutch occupation, agree in praising the virtues of the Hottentots. It is related on the authority of Borgaert, that during the whole of that period the natives had never in one instance been detected in committing an act of theft upon the property of the Colonists."* Whatever be our opinion of the conduct of the Dutch Government in later years towards the native inhabitants, there can be no doubt that at first they endeavoured to conciliate the Hottentots, and acted with forbearance. It must be acknowledged that, from letters written by Governor Bax van Herentals, it would seem that cruelties were practised under the rule of Jacob Borghorst, although no reference to them appears in the official records. These letters speak of the shameful conduct of the settlers in frequently despoiling the Gonnema and other Hottentots of their cattle, and firing upon them; so that such a formidable spirit of hostility was roused that twelve men in a body could hardly be despatched twenty miles without serious fears for their safety. It is only reasonable to suppose that individuals were often to blame, and that the Cape Records, from which our account of the Gonnema war has been extracted, may not contain all the information necessary to enable us to form a correct decision; but it is very evident that the Directors of the Company, as well as the Government of the Colony, were thoroughly opposed to any war with the natives,† and

* *Researches in South Africa*, by the Rev. John Philip, D.D., vol. i. He states (p. 6) that he never knew an individual who would not acknowledge the justice of the observation that the Hottentot, among his other good qualities, is master in an eminent degree of a rigid adherence to truth.

† Even in Simon van der Stell's time, Commissioner Van Rheede writes (16th July, 1685):—"A very great deal depends upon the preservation of peaceful relations and friendly intercourse with the inhabitants and Hottentots; the manner in which the Commander renders that people well-disposed towards our nation is most praiseworthy, and must be persevered in."

always ready to punish offences committed against them, as well as to tolerate Hottentot thefts and injuries, rather than, by resenting them, provoke the natives to armed resistance. In the memorandum written by Wagenaar for the information of his successor (Quaelberg), after narrating various outrages committed by Hottentots, this Commander proceeds to say that "he had winked at it all, and suffered it to pass unnoticed, for our masters in the fatherland recommend to us nothing more earnestly than to deal with those men in a quiet and peaceable manner." Several instances are mentioned of severe punishments accorded for thefts of Hottentot stock, and a Dutchman named Willems, who shot a native accidentally, had to fly from the Colony, and, although in Holland he obtained an order releasing him from arrest, was, on his return to the Cape, banished to Robben Island, and subsequently sent to Mauritius.

From a very early period various causes began to effect a diminution of the native races. Small-pox and other diseases frequently raged like pestilences among them, and the love of ardent spirits had a more destructive effect. Even Van Riebeeck did not scruple to encourage this brutal indulgence. The customs of Europe were in favour of it, and every purchase of any consequence was concluded by dram-drinking. On one occasion "a tub of brandy and arrack mixed was set open in the middle of the esplanade of the Fort, with a little wooden bowl, from which these people (the Hottentots) made themselves so drunk, that they made the strangest antics in the world."* "The freemen" set a terrible example, as Van Riebeeck mentions† that "the greater number of them, whenever any ships are in the roads, may be daily seen as intoxicated as irrational creatures, with the strong drink they obtain from the shipping." Brandy and tobacco soon became Hottentot gods, and to them were sacrificed health,

* This occurred before the sermon on the Feast of the Ascension, and is recorded in Van Riebeeck's Journal under date 6th May, 1660.

† Records, p. 181.

honour, and independence. Their territory was gradually annexed, while they were compelled to retreat inland, where they became a terror to the farmers, and such a constant source of danger and annoyance as to make the Dutch believe it necessary that their extirpation should be attempted. The Government of the Company were particularly culpable in making no systematic and generous effort to civilize the wretched natives. A purely mercantile spirit animated a policy which never exhibited anything deserving the name of philanthropy or generosity.

To find gold and to discover cities were the chief objects of exploration. Cattle-barter and trade had also great attractions; but we never hear a word about the extension of Christianity. Danckert was despatched in search of "Monopotoma" in 1660, and we have seen that Commissioner Van Goens was fully persuaded of the existence of this and other inland towns.* Cruythoff and Meerhoff distinguished themselves as travellers, and a number of officers were sent at different times to obtain cattle from the natives by barter. In a memorandum from Commissioner Van Odessen, dated 16th of April, 1663, he states:—"I cannot perceive any advantage to the Company in journeys to the interior, in order to barter cattle. Journeys of discovery ought to be continued." On October 11, 1663, Sergeant la Guerre went forth to the Namaquas and tribes beyond the River Vigita Magna (Orange River) and there are frequent entries in the Records of a similar kind. The discovery of the Namaqualand mines was attempted on various occasions, and we shall soon have to refer to the interesting journey of Simon van der Stell to that part of South Africa. The

* A copy of the work of Huygens de Linschoten, published at Amsterdam (1623), is in the Dessinian Collection, South African Library. The map contains many kingdoms and cities, among others Monomotopa, near the tropic, on the Rio de Spirito Sancto. The Rio Pescario runs nearly south from the tropic into Mossel Bay. *Vigita Magna* and *Mossata* are to the eastward of this river. Cartado is still more to the eastward, on Rio de Infante.

hooker *Boede*, under Corporal Thomas Hobma, sailed up the West Coast in 1677 to a Portuguese fort named Sombeira, in $12^{\circ} 47'$ south latitude. Hobma reported that although there were several excellent bays, he could find neither good land nor fresh water, and that the natives near Sombeira were all Hottentots. Some years subsequently (in 1684) thirty-nine boers penetrated eastward through the entire Hottentot territory so far as where the outposts of the Kafirs were then located in the present Albany division. The Boers having seized a Kafir, this man conducted them to a large body of his countrymen who had never seen white men before, and who immediately commenced an attack with assagais and other weapons. The Dutch then fired, and the Kafirs were surprised to find that the bullets penetrated even through their leathern shields. They then fled, uttering tremendous yells, imagining that "nothing else than a legion of devils, armed with lightning and thunder, had invaded their country. They were astonished at the horses, which had also never before been seen. In their retreat they were followed by the boers, and many were instantly destroyed."* These Dutchmen subsequently returned safely to the Cape, after a journey of seven months.

On the 18th of April, 1687, the Council at the Cape record the safe arrival of the captain and several seamen belonging to the ship *Stavenisse*, wrecked at the Tierra de Natal, on the 16th February, 1686. They built a small vessel, in which they sailed to Table Bay. The natives are described as being very obliging, kind, and hospitable. As one part of the crew had set out overland and not been heard of, the little vessel called the *Centaur*, in which the captain of the *Stavenisse* had arrived, was sent in search of them, and fortunately picked them up between "Punta Primera and the bay De la Goa" (Algoa Bay). The cupidity and curiosity of the Cape Government were

* MS. in the Dessinian Collection, South African Library, quoted by Mr. J. C. Chase in "Progress and Present State of Geographical Discovery in the South African Continent." published in the *South African Quarterly Journal*, page 99.

awakened by the exaggerated accounts of the richness and fertility of Natal, and the *Noord* was despatched on the 19th October, 1689, to proceed direct to Rio de la Goa, and thence to the Bay of Natal. The information furnished by the seamen of the *Stavenisse* regarding this country is very interesting. "One may travel (they say) 200 or 300 mylen without any cause of fear from men, provided you go naked, and without any iron or copper, for these things give inducement to the murder of those who have them. Neither need one be in any apprehension about meat and drink, as they have in every village or kraal a house of entertainment for travellers, where these are not only lodged, but fed also. Your servants travelled 150 mylen, to the depth of about thirty mylen inland, through five kingdoms, namely, the Magoses, the Makriggas, Matimbos, Mapontes, and Emboas. There are many dense forests, with short-stemmed trees; but at the bay of Natal are two forests, each fully a myl square, with tall, straight, and thick trees, fit for house or ship timber." They found but one European, an old Portuguese, wrecked there forty years before, who had adopted the African language and customs, and "forgotten everything, his God included." "They cultivate three sorts of corn, as also calabashes, pumpkins, water-melons, and beans. Tobacco grows there wild. The country swarms with cows, calves, oxen, steers, and goats. The horses they do not catch or tame, although they approach within ten or twelve paces." The object of the voyage to the eastward is thus stated by the Council:—"It was unanimously resolved to send the galiot *Noord* to the Bay of Natal, to fetch the remaining people of the *Stavenisse*, and to endeavour to purchase on the Company's account, under a formal and duly-executed written contract with the chief of that country, the said bay, and some of the land around it, for merchandize, such as beads, copper, ironwork, and such other articles as are liked by them . . . and that the galiot shall then return hither along the coast, and with all possible care sound and survey the bay of De la Goa (Algoa), to see whether it

may not be suitable for the Company's homeward bound fleets." A purchase was effected, in accordance with these directions, for a nominal sum of 20,000 guilders, given in merchandize; but although an endeavour was afterwards made to form a settlement, the attempt was unsuccessful. The *Noord* merely called into Algoa Bay on her return voyage, without anchoring, and the captain reported that it was only a bight, quite open to the sea, having three or four visible rocks in the middle, and fully as many in its entrance! The *Noord* was afterwards wrecked near this Bay, under circumstances which proved the culpable negligence of the master, who would have been prosecuted by the Fiscal had not he and his crew undergone "a miserable land journey" to Cape Town, in which many of them perished. It is scarcely possible to estimate the sufferings that shipwrecked seamen endured at this time when travelling along the South African coast. An epitome of a narrative furnished by the survivors of the ship *Goude Buys** will be found in the Appendix.

On the 12th October, 1679, the ship *Vrije Zee* arrived "with our new Commander, Simon van der Stell, and family. Notwithstanding her long voyage, this ship had only sacrificed to Neptune 11 men out of 289." As there was no shipping in Table Bay at the time, nor anything of importance to be attended to, the Commander went to Hottentots Holland on the 8th of November, and was very much pleased with its appearance. Besides this tract of land, he inspected another at a distance of three or four hours' journey, supplied with an excellent river, ornamented by fine trees, and as the spot had never before been visited by any chief authority, it was now named *Stellenbosch*.

The elder Van der Stell, whose rule lasted twenty-one years, was a man of prudence and ability. The

* This vessel was abandoned at St. Helena Bay in 1694. It is particularly worthy of notice, that the crew attributed their misfortunes to the extremely bad provisions on board, which soon incapacitated most of the men for duty, and necessitated their actually going ashore in a savage country to search for food.

same restrictive conduct towards free men and strangers of course was continued; but it must be remembered that the Company is entirely responsible for this policy, and that the Governors were not allowed the slightest discretionary power. To use Judge Watermeyer's words,* "the most trivial relaxation of monopolist regulations was a far more serious crime in the eyes of the Council of the East India Company than the most violent tyranny exercised against the colonists." We have already seen that Commander Quaelberg was dismissed with ignominy for a courteous relaxation of the monopoly system in favour of foreigners, and we shall shortly have occasion to detail the terrible reception given by order of the Company to French vessels of war in Table Bay.

One of Van der Stell's first acts was to cause the Government Gardens to be planted, and amongst his earliest proclamations is one (September 22, 1684) forbidding all barter with the natives. The customs of European society, whether good or evil, invariably find their way to the colonies; and duelling became so frequent at the Cape, that in the year 1682 a proclamation against it was issued, and another shortly afterwards forbade tradesmen to carry knives or other sharp weapons. As the garrison lived in a chronic state of discontent, it is not surprising that the captain of an English vessel which put into Table Bay in distress was able to induce forty-three of the soldiers to desert.

Commissioner van Rhee de tot Drakenstein having earnestly recommended the Home Government to send emigrants, fifty farmers and mechanics, with a like number of young women, were sent to the Colony during the year 1684. A grant of sixty morgen of land was made for the use of these people, who were located in the country named Stellenbosch and Drakenstein. "At this time," remarks Mr. Justice Watermeyer,† "the Colony had been a third of a century founded. Despotism had taken deep root. The foundations of

* Lectures, page 45.

† Lectures, p. 36.

tyranny were firm. The term 'colonial freeman' had lost all signification of the liberty which freemen in Europe enjoyed. The heads of the Government and the original burghers knew that freedom here was the mockery of a name; that burghership was a state of subserviency to the Company, and the new comers, whatever their European views of the rights of citizenship, were constrained to bow their heads and yield. Dependent on the Government, if in all things obedient, they might prosper in their private circumstances. But to assert any political right, or to murmur against exactions, entailed confiscation of their all, separation from their families, exile to the Mauritius, or some other penal station."

Commander Simon van der Stell, being desirous to explore the country of the Amaquas, to which various expeditions had already gone, set out for Namaqualand on the 25th of August, 1685.* The party comprised fifty-six white men, besides two Macassars and three slaves, and the equipage consisted of a calash drawn by six horses, two field-pieces, eight carts, seven wagons, one boat, 289 draught and pack-oxen, besides saddle-horses and asses; also six other wagons, each drawn by eight oxen, which were the property of the burghers, and only intended to accompany the expedition as far as the Olifants River. Having crossed a flat, damp country, with "the Tiger Mountains on the right and Table Mountain on the left," they came to a place called Stink River, in a fine valley, protected all round by high hills. On the next day Schacher's and Kuyper's Hottentots met them. The latter Captain presented the Governor with a slaughter ox, and received in return a flask of brandy. Passing tribes of Sonquas, who gained their subsistence by robbing other Hottentots, and proceeding *via* Paardeberg, they soon

* The particulars of this journey are obtained from a literal translation of a Dutch manuscript made by Mr. W. C. von Buchenroder, published in the *South African Quarterly Journal*, page 39. In Hall's *Chronology* the date of this journey is stated to be 1683. This journal is to be found also in Moodie's Papers relative to the Native Tribes, pp. 400, *et seq.*

reached Riebeeck's Kasteel, "which derived its name from His Honour the Commander van Riebeeck." This mountain was overgrown with timber, and in it they found "an accessible grotto." The low country and the mountains on the other side of Berg River appeared very pleasant, and the plains abounded with grass and water. A few days afterwards the expedition met a number of savages who "had a very rough and scaly skin, arising from the hunger which they had frequently to suffer, and from the want of fat with which to anoint themselves. His Honour the Commander made them a present of a sheep, and although these are people of no education, they had the consideration to give him, as a return, the skins of three bush-cats." Near Piquetberg a rhinoceros charged "the middle of our train" in great fury, and afterwards escaped with impunity. "The abovementioned Piquet mountain received its name from the circumstance that when His Honour Goske made war on the Gonnemas he made merry thereon, and there placed piquets." Having arrived at the Olifants River, it is remarked that elephants are often found there in great numbers; and that the banks are clothed with a species of willow, and with thorn trees of uncommon size. "In this river a fish is caught resembling in shape the carp of Holland; in taste, the salmon, and is of the size of a common codfish."

The account of the country through which the expedition passed is by no means interesting; but one or two references to the natives are worth noticing. By means of inquiry it was discovered that Sonqua signified pauper; and that each tribe of "Hottentots had their own Sonquas employed to give notice if they perceived any strange tribe. They never plunder from the kraals of the persons in whose service they are; but do from others, and that as well in time of peace as in war; because they possess nothing but what they obtain in that way." "The Hottentots which we had with us went to the chase, each with a *kerrie* in his hand, and arranged in an extended line, in which they beat along the fields; and if a quail appeared, they hit it in its flight with great expertness.

They hunted partridges, hares, and other small game in the same manner."

Previous to this period the Government had begun to exercise some species of control over the various Hottentot tribes, by appointing captains, or confirming the nominations. Each of these chiefs was furnished with a staff or baton of office. This feudal system of investiture gave the natives an idea of the paramount authority of the Dutch, and we find, accordingly, that when the Commander arrived at a kraal of Hottentots belonging to the Gregriqua nation, who had rebelled against their captains, they fled lest their cattle should be seized.

As Van der Stell was very desirous to communicate with the natives, every endeavour was made to dispel their fears. A certain "Captain Nonce" arrived one day in answer to a summons. He rode on a pack-ox, and had with him eleven milch cows, and another pack-ox which carried his baggage. Upon the Commander asking if he were willing to barter, Nonce replied that "he had no cattle and was a poor devil." His Honour then said he could not take his sheep, as Dutch people would not receive anything from the poor, but rather give to them. The Hottentot was quite amazed by this answer, and entreated the Commander to accept six sheep, stating that he had abundance of cattle for barter, and was not one of those who had intended to go to war, but *that he was Master here and His Honour the Governor Master at the Cape*. An attempt, said to be feigned, was then made to march to his kraal, "in order to see who would be master," when Nonce protested "that the other captains had said so, but not he." The son of this man, named Jonker, who had endeavoured to lead the expedition into the wrong road, claimed to be captain instead of his father. The Commander, however, decided against his pretensions, reduced him to the rank of a "soldier," and would have punished him severely but for the intervention of five Hottentot captains, named Oedeson, Harramac, Otwa, Haby, and Aoe. It is clear from the foregoing that the Government claimed jurisdiction over South African

tribes, and that they presumed themselves to be rulers over all colonial territory through which their officers travelled. Native rights never appear to have had any real signification in the minds of the Dutch; and although, as we have seen, one or two nominal purchases were made, territory was annexed from time to time as convenience dictated. We shall soon have occasion to refer to the continuous war waged against the native races by the colonial farmers individually, in small bands, and under commandos.

This expedition of Van der Stell's was absent about fifteen weeks, and by its means the Koperbergen were explored and immense quantities of ore discovered. The distance from the sea-coast made the Governor despair of being able to work the mines successfully. The stipulations of a treaty made by Van der Stell with the Amaquas were to the effect that they should live in peace with the Company and each other, and that if they broke the latter agreement *the Cape Government would have the right to interfere.*

Before referring at some length to the important immigration of French Huguenots, which took place between the years 1685 and 1690, it appears interesting to note what bears reference to the Cape, published by Le Pere Tachard in his interesting account of the French embassy to Siam, dispatched between 1685 and 1687, as well as to furnish an account of the capture of French ships of war in Table Bay.

A mandarin named Occum Chamnam, who had suffered shipwreck at L'Agulhas in 1686, when proceeding in a Portuguese vessel to Lisbon, supplied this writer with a circumstantial account of the catastrophe, and of a land journey along the South African coast. In consequence of mismanagement, the vessel in which the mandarins were passengers struck upon rocks close to Agulhas at about midnight on the 27th of April, 1686. Every person on board was saved, but they were only able to secure a small stock of provisions. The Siamese were without any, and the Portuguese showed very little disposition to assist

them. On the second day after shipwreck the party set out for the Dutch settlement at the Cape, walking all day through a forest, "or rather bushes, for we saw no tall trees." As very little water was met with, great torments were suffered from thirst. The first ambassador was left behind to die, with a faithful friend and an attendant, who, although able to leave him, refused to do so. On the fifth day of the journey three or four Hottentots were seen, who came with their assagais, in order to examine who they were. "The white men were seized with terror, in the prospect of being pitilessly massacred by those barbarians." At last the Hottentots went in advance, and made signs that the others should follow, pointing to some houses, or rather to three or four wretched huts on a hill. They were subsequently led to another village, consisting of about forty huts, covered with the branches of trees, and where there were four or five hundred natives. The most earnest efforts were made, by means of signs and gesticulations, to show that the white men were suffering from hunger, and desired something to eat; but the natives only responded by looking at each other and laughing immoderately. Strange to say, the Hottentots were able to utter two words, which they continued repeating—"Tabac, pataque.*" Two large diamonds were offered, but they took no notice of them. The first pilot was the only one who found a few pataques. He gave them four for an ox, which they ordinarily sell to the Dutch for its length in tobacco. But what was this among so many half-famished wretches, who had eaten nothing but a few leaves for the last six days? A mandarin, seeing that the Hottentots refused gold money, went to dress his head with some ornaments of gold, and appeared before them in this state. The novelty pleased them, and they gave the quarter of a sheep for trinkets which were of the value of more than a hundred pistoles.

* The Portuguese would seem to have had frequent dealings with the natives, as "pataque" signified "pataca," a Portuguese colonial coin, worth about three shillings.

They passed the night in this place near a large fire opposite to the huts of the Hottentots. The savages continued howling and dancing till daylight, "which kept us on our guard, in the fear of being surprised, but there was no doubt, if they had been able to overpower us, they would certainly have done so." In this narrative the natives are termed "Caffres," and it would seem that this was the name at that time by which they were generally designated. The party made an attempt to penetrate inland, but they soon abandoned it as nobody knew the way, and the sea-beach afforded various descriptions of shell-fish. The mandarin, Occum Chamnam, at last attained safety, after passing through innumerable dangers, which appear to have been aggravated by his own cowardice and that of the other Siamese.

Father Tachard, who accompanied the French embassy to Siam and subsequently wrote an account of it, arrived at the Cape in 1685, and "was extremely surprised to meet with great politeness." It was reasonable that he should have been agreeably disappointed, as strict instructions had been issued in January, 1681, ordering the Governor "to take care that no refreshments were furnished to the French." Probably the unusual civility displayed on this occasion was owing to the circumstance that the Dutch outward-bound fleet, under the command of Baron van Rheede tot Drakenstein, was lying in Table Bay. Father Tachard writes, "that all these gentlemen, to whom must be added Mr. Van der Stell, Governor, or to call him by the Dutch title, Commander of the Cape, possess singular merit, and we were very happy to have the pleasure of meeting them during the stay which we made." An equally favourable reception having been given in 1688 to the second French expedition, which consisted of no fewer than six ships, the Government of the Dutch East India Company expressed extreme displeasure at the friendly feeling which had been manifested, and animadverted severely on Van der Stell's want of caution in admitting French officers to a knowledge of the defenceless state of the settlement. The visitors had

ascertained that, as the Castle was completely commanded by the neighbouring heights, it was almost entirely useless, and could be captured with great ease.

Shortly after this period, a war between the allied powers of England and France against Holland was anticipated, and the Home Government endeavoured to supply Van der Stell with the latest authentic intelligence, in order that he might be fully on his guard. Towards the end of 1688, hostilities were supposed to be imminent, and the Stadtholder (William of Orange) was then perfecting his arrangements to dethrone James II. The Council of Seventeen, writing to the Cape, say:—"We send this despatch principally to give notice of the present perplexed condition of time and things, and to inform you that we are, without any doubt, on the point of war with the Kings of France and England." They did not anticipate that in a few months William of Orange would become ruler of Great Britain, and were ignorant of the "great design" so shortly to be carried into effect. In another letter, alarm is expressed lest a warlike expedition, then fitting out at Cork, should be bound for the East; and the Commander is authorized to take ashore 150 soldiers out of the passing ships, "and in case of necessity to add the freemen, of whom, as you have written a large number are qualified to perform active service. We trust that you will thus be able to repel any foreign attack. We are by no means pleased with the friendly reception which you gave to the French while in your port, or satisfied with your having allowed them so many privileges." In a despatch dated 12th March, 1689, it is stated that "the actual intention is not to make war on the English nation, the enterprise being directed against the King alone, so you are to refrain from being hostile to them unless they act on the offensive, in which case you will have to pay them in their own coin, and do them all the injury in your power. But, as regards the French, who have seized our ships, you shall in like manner take possession of their ships which may touch at the Cape, and detain them until further orders; but, while taking

care that they do not escape you, you are to treat the officers and crew with civility. If, however, they should attempt hostilities, you will deal with them in the same manner as we have directed in such case respecting the English." Subsequently, as the French had seized Dutch merchantmen, and captured in the Channel ships bound to Holland with specie, instructions were issued "to treat the French everywhere as enemies, and, as such, to cause them all possible loss and injury, keeping accurate entries and charge of all things seized, so as to be able to render a true account."

Nothing could be more precise or positive than these directions; and the unpleasant duty of carrying them into effect soon devolved upon the Cape Government.

One of the ships of Father Tachard's Siamese expedition, named *La Normande*, arrived in Table Bay on the 26th April, 1689, on a homeward voyage from Pondicherry, with a cargo consisting principally of piece goods, valued at 150,915 rupees. After having anchored, her cutter was immediately lowered, and the respects of the captain sent to the Honourable Company by Ensign Le Chevalier de la Machefolier. The moment this officer entered the Castle, he and his boat's crew were placed under arrest. The commanders of the Dutch ships *Saamslag* and *Nederland* were in the meantime directed to attack the Frenchman, and if he refused to surrender, then at once to send boarding parties. The galiot *De Noord* was ordered to act as a reserve, and, if requisite, to fire into the *Normande*. But the rest of this account, as well as the narrative of the capture of *Le Coche*, fourteen days afterwards, is best told in the words of Commander van der Stell's despatch to the Supreme Government:—

"Our shore boat, likewise full-manned, was ordered, as well as the boat of the *Nederland*, under the command of the first and second officers of that ship, to proceed on board of the Frenchman as soon as they saw that the boats of the *Saamslag* were alongside. But Govert Roos, captain of the *Saamslag*, having received these orders from the Commander regarding the employment of our

shore boat and the boats of the *Nederland*, at once went on board, and, finding our boat alongside the *Nederland*, ordered her to remain there until he should strike his flag on board of the *Saamslag*, as a sign that they should start from the *Nederland* to the *Normande*, which was in opposition to the orders given him by the Commander.

“In the meantime the Commander caused the French boat to put off from our wharf well manned and under the French flag, with the order to be cautious not to approach the Frenchman so near that he could recognize the Company’s people, and not to go alongside till the fight had begun.

“Monsieur de Courcelles, captain of the *Normande*, seeing the boat coming off with the French flag, and suspecting no evil, ordered a salute of nine guns to the Castle, under the smoke of which the cutter and the boat of the *Saamslag* came alongside without being discovered; and, as he would not hear of surrendering, they at once fell to, and after eight of their men and two of ours had been wounded, they cried for quarter, which was granted. The ship had forty-nine men and sixteen guns—twelve and eight pounders.

“Our people having in the afternoon, about three o’clock, taken to plundering, nothing was known on board of the *Saamslag* of the signal which they were to give to the boat and cutter of the *Nederland*; and Captain Roos omitted to give the slightest notice of what had taken place to the Commander, having, according to all appearance, determined on having the plunder of the French to himself. His Honour was therefore necessitated, about ten o’clock at night, to send off the ‘dispensier’ Freser, as we feared that if our people got intoxicated they would give the French an opportunity of which they might take advantage, with orders that Captain Roos should send ashore the French prisoners whom he had taken on board of his ship—and who, including the officers, were stripped to the skin—and to take care that the orders were obeyed; in contravention of which, the orlop, the gun-room, fore-castle, and cabin, and the whole ship, with the exception

of the hold, was plundered; and here there would have been trouble enough besides, but for the good watch and care of the Fiscal and Commissioners, Captain Roos being of opinion that whatever was found out of the hold was his prize and booty, in consequence of which the diamonds, jewels, and other articles shipped, are missing, and we have been compelled, on the part of the Company, to protest against him for all present and future damages.

“The before-mentioned French Company’s ship *Le Coche*, having parted from her consort, the *Normande*, by chance or on purpose, in the latitude of False Bay, arrived here on the 9th May opportunely, for the purpose of obtaining refreshments, laden with piece goods to the value of 261,881 rupees, manned with ninety-six men, and armed with twenty-four iron pieces (eight and six pounders), and six stone pieces.

“Having come to an anchor towards evening, about half a musket’s shot above the Company’s ships, she saluted the Castle with nine guns, which were returned, and, after she had first saluted the French King’s flag, which was flying from the *Normande* for the purpose of deception, and had received the ordinary return salute, those on board were quite at ease, and suspected nothing less than the impending evil. As it was near evening, and a swell was on, they sent off no boat; but when at midnight the weather was somewhat more moderate, they dispatched a boat to the *Normande*, which was detained by our people. When they saw that the boat stayed away too long, and that three of our ships were nearing them,—the one for the starboard, another for the stern, and the third for the larboard,—they became suspicious, and began to shelter themselves with blankets and mattresses, to open the ports and point the guns, and to bring up those that were in the hold, and to make every preparation for a gallant defence.

“Upon this, Marcus Kok, the captain of the *Nederland*, who had approached within pistol-shot of the Frenchman, thought it best, in order to prevent bloodshed, to be beforehand with him, and about an hour after midnight

commenced firing with cannon and musketry. Upon this the English ship *Nathaniel*, having received a shot in the hull from the Frenchman, did not remain in his debt, but returned three balls. At length, finding the fire too hot, after the second broadside—their captain, Monsieur D'Armagnan, and two common soldiers, having been killed and eight men wounded—they begged for quarter.

“They were again plundered, as shamefully as the *Normande*, and everything would have been carried off but for the firm opposition of the Fiscal and Commissioners, who shut the hold, where the sailors had already penetrated, the violence having been great, the discipline small, and the boats and cutters of the ships in the Bay alongside, against the orders given to the officers in full council, and the resolution had thereon.

“The prisoners—in number about one hundred and forty—have been well secured, and forty of them have been sent to Batavia, the half by the *Nederland*, and the other half by the *Sion*. The rest will follow to Ceylon. The officers, priests, and Jesuits will be sent to Europe by the Batavian and Ceylon return ships, and the prizes *La Normande* and *Le Coche*; the former, now called the *Good Hope*, being consigned, with its lading, to the Præsidential Chamber of Zeeland, and the latter, now named the *Africa*, to the Chamber of Amsterdam.

“The most important prisoners are Monsieur de Courcelles, captain of the *Normande*; Monsieur du Terte, his lieutenant; Chevalier de la Machefolierie, his ensign; De Beauchamp, major of the Siam Regiment; De Saint Marie, captain of the same Regiment, who has been allowed, at his own request, to proceed to Batavia, there to await the expected pardon of his King for homicide committed by him in France; Volant, captain and engineer, &c.

“We intend to keep the French flag flying on the *Normande* as long as she lies at anchor here, in the hope thereby to mislead the French ship *Le President*, which is expected from Surat, and entice her to the anchorage, where she will be received with the same civility as the others have enjoyed.”

The French Government, although extremely annoyed at these occurrences, was, fortunately for Van der Stell, fully occupied in defending itself against the allied forces on the Continent of Europe. So, although the Commander was empowered to detain some of the eastward-bound ships, so that, "if the French should arrive, not only to beat them off, but, if possible, to capture them," no opportunity was afforded him of carrying these instructions into effect. On one occasion, certainly, a hostile fleet was reported to be in sight, and the following order to the Landdrost and Heemraden* of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein was immediately issued :—

"28th August, 1689.

"GOOD FRIENDS,—As we are threatened with an attack by the enemy, and it is our duty to be prepared for it in time, you are ordered, on sight of these presents, and without delay, to collect your men, horse and foot, and to come hither with the Landdrost, fully armed and equipped, well provided with powder and lead, leaving only ten or twelve men to protect your wives and children and property against the Hottentots or other need. On which relying,

"We are,

"SIMON VAN DER STELL."

Three ships were in sight, and three signal guns had been fired from Robben Island. But as the fleet proved to be Dutch, not French, the order was withdrawn the same day.

* The first Landdrost was Johannes Muller, appointed about 1685, "for the superintendence of the Company's farms Klappmuts, Tygerberg, &c." "He is to be allowed a Company's horse and one slave, to have two Dutchmen to assist and keep him company, and to be sheriff and officer over the village of Stellenbosch." The Landdrost presided at the meetings of Heemraden, but this court had no criminal jurisdiction. "All the criminals are to be overtaken by the *veldwygter* under your *commando*, and prosecuted before the Honourable Court of Justice, leaving the Fiscal his rights."

CHAPTER V.

The States-General of the Netherlands determine to send French Refugees to the Cape—Conditions and Regulations—Departure of the Ships—Family names of the Emigrants—Their treatment by the Cape authorities—Discontent—Retrospect—Natives—Acquirement of Land—Slavery—Discovery—Abdication of Simon van der Stell—His character—Willem Adriaan van der Stell—Discontent among Colonists—Petitions to the Home Government—Discovery of the Conspiracy—Proceedings of Government—Recall of Van der Stell—Van Asseburg Governor—Statistics.

THE States-General of the Netherlands had received with hospitality the Huguenots expelled from France by Louis XIV.; but finding that many of them could not obtain employment, and learning that the Dutch East India Company had lately sought for emigrants from Holland, they proposed to the Directors to offer them a home at the Cape. A scheme of settlement was accordingly framed, but it was never earnestly carried out. The Company argued that as hostilities with France were feared, it would be dangerous to harbour in the South African Colony a very large number of French subjects. The true reason is stated by Mr. Justice Watermeyer to be* rather because the Chamber of Seventeen well knew that it would be difficult to bind in the trammels in which the “freemen” of the Cape were held, “too many at a time of those who had already sacrificed much.” A few might be beneficially used, while many would be the destruction of despotism. The total number of French Protestants who arrived before 1688 did not amount in the whole to 300 men, women, and children.

A despatch from Amsterdam, dated 16th of November, 1687, announces the intentions of the Company with regard to French emigrants in the following manner:—“We have resolved to send you, in addition to other freemen, some French and Piedmontese refugees—on the footing and conditions of the regulations of which some

copies, in Dutch and French, are sent herewith—all of the Reformed religion, for the exercise of which we have likewise allowed them a minister, who is on the point of leaving with one of the ships of the Chamber of Zeeland. Among them you will find wine-growers, and some of them who understand the making of brandy and vinegar, by which means we expect that you will find the want of which you complain in this respect satisfied. It will be your duty, as these people are destitute of everything, on their arrival to render them assistance, and furnish them with what they may require for their subsistence until they are settled and can gain their own livelihood. They are industrious people and easily contented.” The following is a summary of the regulations and conditions referred to in this despatch:—1. Emigrants to be conveyed free to the Cape, upon taking the oath of fidelity to the Company. 2. Nothing but apparel and necessaries for the passage to be carried, “money excepted,” which any one may carry with him to such amount as he pleases. 3. Every one to settle at the Cape of Good Hope, and gain his living by tilling the land, or by exercising some art or trade. 4. To the party that shall apply himself to tillage, shall be given as much ground as he shall be enabled to bring into cultivation; seed and implements to be furnished, if necessary, on loan. 5. Every emigrant to remain five full years; but it shall be open, by appeal to the Assembly, to obtain some remission of this term. 6. Certain regulations with regard to payment of passages by returning emigrants at the expiry of five years. If any passenger take merchandize with him it shall be retained, and applied to the profit of the Company.

The ship *Langemoyk*, or *Oosthuysen*, left Holland with the first Huguenot emigrants* in the winter of 1687, and arrived in Table Bay in the beginning of April, 1688. About the same time a number of Piedmontese refugees

* The following are the surnames of the Huguenots in the first ship:—Marais, Taboureaux, Fouche, Basque, Bruere, Pinnard, Sebatie, Leroux, Malherbe, Paste, Godefroy.

left in the *China*,* but in consequence of having to put back through stress of weather did not reach the Cape until the 4th of August. The despatch sent with these people states:—"You will be pleased to assist them with such support as they may need until they can support themselves. For this purpose you will point out to them at once how they should go to work. . . Among them are persons who understand the culture of the vine, who will in time be able to benefit the Company and themselves." The ship *Oosterlandt* left Middelburg on the 29th January, 1688, with Flemings, and a few Huguenots.†

The Council of Seventeen, in a despatch dated the 1st April, 1688, states that "there are at present in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg near two hundred families, who were about a thousand souls, men, women, and children, who have since been greatly diminished in number and fallen to about six or seven hundred. They are farmers and industrious people, and nearly all of them understand some trade. . . . They are intended to settle at the Cape, and to earn their livelihood as colonists, and wish to be conveyed thither." In a subsequent despatch, dated the 21st July, it is said that these Piedmontese, "dreading the sea and the long voyage," refused to come out. Small parties of French refugees continued to arrive at different times. The ships *Schelde* and *Zuid Boerlandt*, which respectively entered Table Bay in June and August, brought a large number, and a third party, comprising forty persons, arrived in the ship *Wafer van Alkmaer* on the 27th January, 1689.‡

* The following are the surnames of the Piedmontese:—Mesnard, Corbonne, Anthonarde, Madan, Verdette, Jourdan, Rousse, Malan, Goviaud, Verdeaux, Grange, Corban, Resne, Pelanchon, Fraichaise, Furet, Scaet. One despatch states:—"There will go over a colonist by this opportunity, one Jacques Savoye, with his wife. He was for many years an eminent merchant at Ghent." Savoye left in the ship which sailed on the 29th January, 1688.

† Surnames:—De Savoye, Le Clerq, Carnoy, Nortié, Vyton, Du Plessy, Menanto, Talifer, Briet, Avied, Claudon, De Buyse, Pariser.

‡ A chronicle obtained by M. de Lettre, French Consul, states the names of the families which came in these three ships to have been the

A despatch of the 16th December, 1688, advises that a passage by the ship *Sion* had been given to Pierre, Abraham, and Jacob de Villiers, and these people landed on the 6th May, 1689.

A number of the emigrants died during the long passage, and many of those who arrived were very weak and sickly. Commander Van der Stell did his best to assist them, and large voluntary subscriptions, both in money and cattle, were collected from the colonists for their benefit.* As it was the object of the Government to incorporate the refugees with the Dutch inhabitants, lands within the Cape and Stellenbosch Districts were granted. The largest number were located at Drakenstein and other places along the Berg River Valley.

The French Protestants imagined that they would be permitted to exercise religious liberty at the Cape, and made an application to be allowed to elect their own vestry. The result of this request can be learned in the following important memorandum of a resolution of the Governor (Van der Stell) and Council, dated 28th November, 1689:—"In presence of all the members, except Cornelis Linnes, the Commander informed the meeting of the annoyance and the manifold difficulties occasioned to him by some of the French pretended refugees, who, under pretence of escaping persecution on account of their faith, quitted France, and went to other parts, particularly to Holland, under the cloak of zeal, as members and sup-

following :—Avis, Basson, Bastions, Beaumons, Benezat, Bota, Bruet, Camper (pastor), Cellier, Cordier, Carpenant, Couteau, Couvret, Crogne, Dailleau (pastor), Debuze, Debeurier, Decabriere, Delporte, Deporte, Deruel, Dumont, Du Plessis, Dupre, Du Toit, Durant, Dubuisson, Extreux, Fracha, Foury, Floret, Gauche, Grillon, Gardiol, Gounay, Hugot, Jacob, Joubert, Lanoy, Laporte, Laupretois, Le Clair, Lefebvre (surgeon), Le Grand, Lecrivent, Lombard, Longue, Maniet, Martinet, Nice, Norman, Passeman, Peron, Pinnares, Prevot, Rassimus, Retief, Sollier, Terreblanche, Terrier, Tenayment, Terront, Vallete, Vaudray, Vanas, Valtre, Verbat, Villons, Viviers, Vyol, Villion, Vivet, Vitou, Vitroux.

* The Government of India presented £1,200 for the purchase of seed, implements, &c.

porters of the Protestant faith, and led a lazy and indolent life ; and notwithstanding the Honourable Company, our lords and masters having allowed some of them passages to this place, to gain a livelihood here by agriculture, and whatever else they might be able to do, now they live in an expensive manner, and—without our reflecting on the good ones—have shown that they do not answer the expectations which the Company had of them. We scarcely received ten or twelve of them strong and well, and yet all were treated better than our own nation, and plentifully supplied with every necessary to help them to a settlement. They have, however, hinted to this one and that, and even to the Commander himself, that on the arrival of another Minister, and the accession of a number of their countrymen, they would be disposed to choose their own Magistrate and ruler, and thus to withdraw the obedience due from them to the Honourable Company. That to this end they applied to the Commander to be allowed to live together, and not to be attached to Stellenbosch or Drakenstein, and mixed up with the Germans. That they finally, about one hundred and fifty in number, men and women, young and old, having become stout and strong, undertook, even against the judgment of their Minister Simond, to ask for a separate vestry (Kerkraad), not being satisfied with that which had lately been established at Stellenbosch, and for this purpose they chose from amongst them, under the conduct of Pierre Simond, four persons to wait on the Commander and Council, named Jacob de Savoye, Daniel de Ruelle, Abraham de Villiers, and Louis Courtier, with the request for a separate vestry. Upon which, upon mature deliberation, it was unanimously resolved, for the greater advantage of the Company, to restrain their French impertinences and all their plotting, and check it in time ; and by judicious punishments to expose their subterfuges to the community at large, and to warn them very seriously to do their duty." After this resolution was carried, the deputation from the French Protestants was admitted. Pierre Simond, as their spokesman, having expressed the

wishes of the memorialists, the Governor read aloud the oath of allegiance* taken by them and all free people, and dismissed them with a serious warning to conform strictly to their oath, and to be careful for the future not to trouble the Commander and Council with impertinent requests, and to be satisfied with the vestry established at Stellenbosch.†

It is quite clear that the Chamber of Seventeen were perfectly correct in doubting the expediency of sending many French refugees to the Cape. Although, including men, women, and children, the number that arrived certainly did not exceed three hundred, they soon proved themselves troublesome to the Government, and entertained ideas of liberty, or of having their own way, by no means pleasing to Van der Stell, and of which the Directors could not have approved. Being comparatively few in number, they were forced to submit, and eventually became absorbed in the Dutch and German population. There was no actual outbreak under Simon van der Stell's government, although privileges which they considered rights were continually trenched upon. The French language was prohibited at all public services, except when the Bible was read, and it was considered a great concession when, in 1690 and 1691, eight French refugees were chosen by the Commander to be deacons and elders at

* The oath was as follows :—" I promise and swear to be subject and faithful to their High Mightinesses and States-General of the United Provinces, our sovereign masters and lords, to His Highness our Lord the Prince of Orange, as Governor, Captain, and Admiral-General, and to the Directors of the Company General of the East Indies of this country ; likewise to the Governor-General of the Indies, as well as to all the Governors, Commandants, and others who, during the voyage by sea and afterwards on land, shall have command over us. And that I will observe and execute faithfully and in all points all the laws and ordinances made or to be made by Messieurs the Directors, by the Governor-General, and by the Council, as well as by the Governor or Commandant of the place of my abode, regulate and behave myself in all particulars as a good and faithful subject—So help me God !"

† This memorandum is extracted from *N. Z. A. Tydschrift*, vol. v., pp. 264, 265, and is quoted in the *Cape Monthly Magazine* for 1860, page 265.

Stellenbosch. There is little doubt that the discontent of those emigrants was one of the principal causes of the civil disturbances under the younger Van der Stell, which will shortly be referred to.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century it seems desirable to cast a retrospective glance at the policy of the Government, particularly with regard to *natives*, the system of *slavery*, and the *acquisition of land*. The nominal purchase of land from native tribes was only considered expedient during the first few years of Dutch rule. As Judge Watermeyer remarks :* “After this period (1684) there was no affectation of a desire on the part of the Dutch authorities that native claims to land should be respected, and that there should be an end to the extension of the colonial territory. Thus the land of Waveren,† subsequently called Tulbagh, was soon added, and—the authorities sometimes preceding the inhabitants, more frequently the colonists preceding the authorities—possession was taken from time to time of the lands to the north and the east, until the arid wilderness northwards and Kafir defiance eastward formed the boundary of European encroachment.”

Nothing can be plainer than the course followed. The native tribes were in the first instance so powerful that conciliatory measures, and the ostensibly fair means of obtaining land by purchase, had to be adopted. The Dutch soon gained strength in proportion as the Hottentots, enervated by European vices, and frequently defeated, became weaker and less able to resist. What at first was advisable soon became unnecessary, and land was annexed without form or pretext, as convenience dictated. The early colonists and the Government were strongly opposed to shedding blood, except in defence; and at first, no

* Lectures, page 26.

† Roodsand, or Waveren, behind the Berg River Mountains, derived its name from a family of Amsterdam named “Waveren,” the maternal ancestors of Simon van der Stell. Loan leases were granted in 1701 of land at Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, Zwartberg, and Olifants River. Constantia had been planted by Simon van der Stell about 1688.

doubt, prudential reasons contributed to this feeling. Indeed, "for the greater part of the first century of the Dutch occupation the life of the black man was as sacred as that of the white, and the atrocities at which we shudder, of the men who hunted down Bushmen like wild beasts, were reserved for the end of the last and the commencement of the present century."* There is great reason, however, to fear that the Dutch policy was prompted more by selfishness than philanthropy. No effort worthy the name was ever made to civilize the natives. Christianity was evidently considered to be unfit for Hottentots, and at a time when Portuguese missionaries were converting thousands of savages throughout the East Indies and in South America, the Dutch exhibited a sullen indifference to the redemption of the heathen, which soon bore fruit in the total alienation of the native races, and in their inveterate and continuous hostility.

As we have already seen, the term "Cape Freeman" was always a misnomer, and restrictive regulations invariably fettered trade. The Commander and the Grand Council of Policy exercised the inconsistent functions of the Executive, the Legislature, and the Supreme Court of Justice, so that they could constitute any act a crime, and then punish it without check or control. It is true that a right of appeal to the Indian authorities at Batavia was nominally allowed; but no one could dare to avail himself of it without incurring the hatred and hostility of those in power, and exposing himself to ruin.

The Commanders in the Colony, as well as the Directors of the Company, were in favour of slavery. A few slaves were procured so far back as Van Riebeck's time, and a despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen, dated 7th November, 1665, states:—"We can easily conceive that slaves are very necessary to private farmers, and that, without them, they can scarcely maintain themselves."†

* Lectures, page 27.

† It would seem that the first slaves were brought by the English. On one occasion, under date 10th October, 1664, it is stated:—"The Commander, Fiscal, and others went on board the English slave-ship,

The Directors shortly afterwards ordered that a number should be sent from Batavia. In a despatch of the 14th May, 1667, the Chamber of Seventeen remark:—"We expected that we could have furnished you with some slaves from the coast of Guinea, or thereabouts, but as it does not appear that any are to be had there, we must think of other means." It seems never to have been thought possible to utilize Hottentot labour, although we read that, on the 7th October, 1672, "the Governor engaged thirty Hottentots, who generally loiter about the fort in idleness, to wheel earth for the new fort, on condition of receiving two good meals of rice daily, together with a sopie and a piece of tobacco. These Africans undertook the work with great eagerness." Governor Bax van Herentals having asked (14th March, 1677) whether, upon the arrival of a number of slaves from Madagascar, he should lend or sell some of them to the farmers, was informed, in reply, that he might do so, and measures were taken accordingly. Various entries in the Records refer to the arrival of slave cargoes, and on one occasion it is mentioned that, in 1678, the *Voorhont* procured two Kafir slaves on the East Coast, at a cheap rate, for clothing.* There is no trace in the Records of cruelty having been exercised to these unfortunate people (except in so far as the punishments inflicted on crimes committed by them were exceptionally severe); yet they were constantly plotting to escape, or deserting when an opportunity offered.† The Dutch possessions in the East furnished the best description of slaves, and the Cape formed a sort of penal settlement for Java and the Dutch factories in the East, and the most dangerous characters were shipped to this distant spot, where they could be rendered

saw the slaves sitting on the orlop, the greater part of them very young, entirely naked, and perfect skeletons."

* It is stated also in the entry: "As to the question of baptizing slave children, you will be guided by the practice in Batavia."

† Various regulations were made respecting the manumission of slaves. No slave of a private person could be bound to the whipping post and flogged, without the consent of the Commander.

harmless by separation from their fellow-countrymen and co-religionists. As Malay intelligence was always highly esteemed, people of this race were eagerly sought for, and as there was a market and a demand at the Cape, the supply was easily afforded by vessels of the homeward-bound fleets. The Malays always retained a marked pre-eminence over the other coloured races, and have exhibited for many years the singular phenomenon of a large and increasing Mahommedan community among a Christian people, in a land where enormous sums of money have been expended in endeavours to convert the heathen to Christianity. Wedded to their own institutions, they are comparatively unchanged at the present day, and missionary efforts have neither been able to change their religion nor their customs.*

It was invariably the policy of the Company to extend their knowledge of South Africa, and to discover a country where they might secure a trade in gold, ivory, and slaves. Simon van der Stell, ever anxious to promote discovery, had in 1688 ordered Isaac Schyver to proceed to the Rio De la Goa, and in the following year Ensign Schuper was sent upon a mission to the Inqua Hottentots near the Gamtoos River. It has already been stated that the territory near the Bay of Natal was purchased from the natives in the year 1690. This evident desire to extend the territorial possessions, or rather to increase the number of settlements of the Company in South Africa may seem inconsistent with their unwillingness to encourage immigration, and their policy of continuing a mere mercantile monopoly at the Cape; but it was quite in accordance with the spirit of their operations.

* A manuscript preserved in Sir George Grey's collection (South African Library) contains a curious statement made by the Priest Gaman Achmat, to the effect that the Priest Sikh Joseph (understood to mean chief or nobleman) arrived in the Colony about the year 1700, and was buried at Zandvliet, about half a mile from the dwelling-house of Mr. P. L. Cloete, and that subsequently his body was disinterred and conveyed to Malacca. "A finger, however, was kept and remained in the tomb." Four attendants were also buried there.

Factories and stations were wanted where trading could be advantageously carried on. Commerce, not colonization, was the object of the Company, and they did not wish to be embarrassed by an European population, which could only attain riches by becoming their successful rivals.*

It would be a vain and unprofitable task to take note of the numerous Proclamations and Placaats which continually expressed the will of various Governors. The colonists were almost always dependent upon the caprice of their rulers. "The Burgher Council"† (Mr. Justice Watermeyer remarks) "indeed existed, but this was a mere delusion, and must not be confounded with the system of local government by means of District Burgher Councils which that most able man, Commissioner De Mist, sought to establish during the brief government of the Batavian Republic, from 1803 to 1806, when the Dutch nation, convinced and ashamed of the false policy by which they had permitted a mere money-making association to disgrace the Batavian name, and to entail degradation on what might have been a free and prosperous Colony, sought to redeem their error by making this country a national colonial possession, instead of a slavish property, to be neglected, oppressed, or ruined, as the caprice or avarice of its merchant owners might dictate."

Simon van der Stell abdicated in 1699, and retired from the labours of government to a farm near Stellenbosch, having first secured the appointment of his son, Willem Adriaan van der Stell, to the office of Commander of the Settlement. He died thirteen years afterwards, in 1712, and was interred with great pomp and ceremony. The

* Among the memorabilia of the seventeenth century an earthquake is recorded to have occurred on the 7th September, 1695. Forty-four years afterwards (in 1739), and on the same day of the same month (September), another shock of an earthquake was experienced. Again in July, 1766, and subsequently at long intervals, these convulsions of the earth have taken place, but, fortunately, little damage has ever resulted from them, although it is evident that South Africa is subject to their influence at irregular periods.

† This Council was originated by Commissioner Van Goens in his instructions to Commander Van Riebeeck, dated 16th April, 1657.

elder Van der Stell was a vigorous and able administrator, although he had no conception of any liberty which clashed with the ideas of his employers. He looked upon grumbling and dissatisfaction as rebellion, and it will be seen that his son carried this notion to its furthest limit.

The French refugees introduced sparks of discontent, which were not extinguished by Simon van der Stell. Disappointment, as well as loss of privileges, constantly fanned the flame, and they, as well as many of the other colonists, became at last so exasperated at the conduct of the younger Van der Stell as to address petitions to the Governor-General at Batavia and to the Chamber of Seventeen against him. About this time (1705) the free burghers of the Colony numbered 450, and their position was a very disagreeable one. Not merely debarred from commercial pursuits, they found that, in disobedience to orders from the Home Government, the Commander, with his relatives, carried on farming operations so extensively as to become serious competitors with them in the only pursuits by means of which they were able to earn a livelihood. The petition to Holland commences by stating—"Pressed down in utmost need, we, in all dutiful submission, take the liberty to utter our righteous complaints to your Honours; and to this step we are the more constrained, because, by reason of the unrighteous and haughty tyranny of the Governor, W. A. van der Stell, we are not alone grievously oppressed, but the rather treated as slaves; and inasmuch as we are free-born men and subjects of their High Mightinesses, it is readily to be understood that such unwonted treatment is doubly hard to be borne. We have therefore determined to lay before your Honours, as impartial champions of right and justice, as briefly as we can in the sequel, wherein this oppression consists."* The petitioners then proceed, in strong and

* The chief authorities on the subjects of Cape political troubles early in the eighteenth century are a number of folio pamphlets to be found in the Dessinian Collection, South African Library, of which the

embittered language, to state that the Commander, contrary to law, seized upon such large and valuable grants of ground cultivated at the public expense, that fifty farmers could gain a livelihood on them. His vineyard contained 400,000 vines, and his flocks and herds comprised 800 cattle and upwards of 10,000 sheep. Sixty Company's servants were employed to do the work, and one hundred Government slaves assisted them, while "his wagons, ploughs, &c., were made of the Company's iron, and the wood-work of wood cut in the Company's forests." The possession of fifteen cattle stations, and the cruel monopoly of pasture, are specially referred to, while the manner in which the large quantity of stock was obtained is thus explained:—"The Governor, and his brother, Frans the younker, the clergyman, Petrus Kalden, and others of the Company's servants, were the first who undertook the barter of cattle, for this was done by them in an underhand secret manner, without the knowledge of anyone else that the traffic had been opened. In order to carry on this trade, they dispatched a large number of men with powder and lead, who bartered indeed from some, robbed others in most scandalous wise, and forced the cattle from them; and in such manner the barterers returned home well provided. For the rest, His Excellency has by foul means filched cattle from several burghers, &c. Now, when the Governor and the other gentlemen had bartered abundantly, he declared the trade open; but, after a little time, this was again forbidden by Placaat. Upon this, when the Directors again declared the free traffic open to the inhabitants, the order was withheld by the Governor, while he was himself busied with barter in his own behalf, having for the purpose sent away his

following is a list:—*Klachtschrift in den Jure 1706; Korte Deductie van W. A. van der Stell; Neutrale Gedragten; Contra Deductie*, by J. Van der Heiden and Adam Tas. These were published at Amsterdam, and contain not only the charges against the younger Van der Stell, but the replies of that officer to them. See also an excellent article in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1857, p. 150; also Mr. Justice Watermeyer's Lectures, p. 38, *et seq.*

superintendent, who returned with 300 head. The improprieties committed herein have excited the Hottentots, and those, for the injuries suffered by them, wreak their vengeance on the innocent." But the Commander is by no means the only official attacked; Kalden, the chaplain, is thus spoken of:—"He, too, is one of the largest farmers, and notwithstanding that he hath, beyond his other gains, 120 florins per month from the Honourable Company, it is nevertheless certainly true that he makes no account of religion, inasmuch as he is much more interested about his cultivated lands than about his pulpit; he sometimes for a fortnight together enjoys himself on his farm. It hath often happened that people have come a considerable distance from the country to have their children baptized, and others to be joined in matrimony, but were compelled to return home sore disappointed. But how improper soever these things may be, he little cares, as he has ingratiated himself with the Governor. It will rarely occur that the Governor is at his country house but the clergyman betakes himself to his likewise. Of an absence for two Sundays, and that frequently, he thinks nothing; and dares to say, 'If His Excellency and the second person are not at the Cape, what should I do there?' Your Honours may hence judge how little respect this so-called pastor has for religion. We could add many instances of his conduct, but these would be of a coarse nature, which we endeavour to avoid." After special mention is made of the persecution which the farmers who lived near the Governor's lands had to endure, the brother of Van der Stell is thus referred to:—"He is as full of mischief as an egg of meat. . . . Relying on his brother the Governor, he doth as much evil as his bile suggests. He is a most dangerous instrument—yea, a pest to the Cape, having his enjoyment in annoying the free burghers, considering it an honour to practice deception; and if it were in his power to destroy all the burghers in one day, he would not take two for the purpose." This "yunker" is charged with having, at the Governor's desire, bribed several men to assault and

cudgel "two ancient burgher councillors, so that they should feel it." And, then, as a peroration to this part of the petition, it is said : " In truth, from the actions of these three gentlemen (the Governor, his brother, and the clergyman), it must be concluded that they not only imagine that they have license to do what they please, but that the whole land is their freehold, inasmuch as they attempt to play the master over all ; and were their power but fully equal to their will, most undoubtedly all the burghers would be banished the country."

The most serious charge was made relative to the conduct of the Commander towards the wine-farmers. A tithe of their produce, it is stated, had always to be deposited at the Government stores, and the remainder could never be sold except at the prices fixed by the Company. When foreign ships required supplies, the planters had to sell at ten to twenty rix-dollars per leaguer to the Commander, who, in his turn, charged the captains at the rate of one hundred ducats (or one hundred and fifty rix-dollars) per leaguer, thus making an enormous profit, which went into his own pocket. It is alleged that the corn-farmers had to part with their grain at half its real value ; that the right of fishing at Kalk Bay was denied to all except the Governor's slaves ; and that title-deeds could never be obtained without " reasons that jingle" in the form of *douceurs*. " All which things are incontrovertible proofs that the Governor is rightly deemed a scourge of the land's inhabitants, in that he not only envies them any prosperity, but would exhaust them utterly in as far as in him lies, and expose them to perdition, using for his maxim ' that a ruined community is easily ruled.' But this is no marvel, seeing that he is callous to virtue, and has not the least respect for an honest man ; but vile vagabonds who earn a livelihood by rascality and thieving are the Governor's best friends ; and such are in high grace with him, for they fill his hands. Further, he lends his ears to vain babbling men and flatterers, being a coward before the truth."

It has already been mentioned that two petitions were sent. The first was addressed to the Indian authorities at Batavia, and the other (of which the tenor has now been given) to the Chamber of Seventeen. An opportunity for forwarding the latter to Holland was being sought, when Van der Stell received intelligence from Java that the former document had reached the Governor-General of India. The members of the Cape Government were, of course, violently enraged, and every endeavour was made to discover the framers of a petition which had dared to attribute blame to the Commander and the principal functionaries. In a small community such an investigation could not be attended with much difficulty, and secret inquiries were soon rewarded by information which appeared to prove that Adam Tas, a farmer of Stellenbosch, was the principal ringleader of the disaffected. No sooner was this discovery made than Van der Stell, in conjunction with his principal adviser, Landdrost Starrenberg, commanded the arrest of Tas, and the seizure of all his books and papers. Starrenberg and three Members of Council, named Willem van Putten, Jan Brommert, and Hendrik Bouwman, were charged with the execution of this order; and the Governor's carriage, together with an armed escort, were placed at their disposal. They arrived at the ringleader's house in Stellenbosch shortly before daylight on Sunday, 28th February, and, having secured all the approaches, rushed into the bedroom where Tas with his wife and family were asleep. The unfortunate man was borne away in the custody of two soldiers, and, after the chests and boxes had been searched and sealed, his writing-desk was secured and carried to Cape Town.

This desk was found to contain a copy of the memorial and a list of the signatures to it, which Samuel Elzivier (the second person) immediately brought to the Governor. The *Contra Deductie* states "that His Excellency was so enraged in the acquisition of this precious jewel, that he determined to persecute us with fire and sword, and to doom us to the gallows and the wheel." This is a speci-

men of exaggerated language which shows the direction of the entire current of their remarks. Tas was thrown into prison on a charge of high treason, and bail was, of course, refused. It appears that the first signature to the memorial was that of a Hollander, seventy years of age, named Jan Rotterdam, who is said to have previously incurred Van der Stell's animosity by not rising in church on one occasion (according to the usual custom) when His Excellency entered.* The Political and Judicial Council, which was summoned upon the arrest of Tas, immediately issued the following order:—"The freeman and old Burgher Councillor, Jan Rotterdam, is hereby, by virtue of a resolution of Council held in this place, ordered to betake himself on board of the ship *De Herstelde Leeuw* within twenty-four hours; therewith to proceed to Batavia, to answer to the Honourable Indian Government respecting such acts as he hath oftentimes committed, contrary to his honour, his oath, and his duty, against the lawful authority of the place."

Vigorous measures were taken to arrest "the traitors;" but those who avowed that they had been misled were offered pardon if they would come before the authorities and declare their repentance. Seizure and incarceration were the punishments inflicted on the obdurate, while the friends of the Government were hospitably entertained at His Excellency's residence, and treated to pipes and tobacco, with copious draughts of beer. At a broad Council held on 4th March, 1706, at which several of the captains of vessels in port assisted, the following Proclamation was agreed on, of which the subjoined forms the most important portion:—

"We have heard, with sorrow and high displeasure, that, as well here at the Cape as in the country, there are within this Government malicious and wicked inhabitants, who have not alone been guilty of entering into a conspiracy against the lawful authority and Government of

* It is stated that he *could* not, but it is difficult to imagine how a man who was able to attend worship in a church could not rise on his feet.

this settlement, but have also, by means of libellous writings against the Government, to which they, partly by persuasion and partly by force, obtained signatures, seduced others from their virtuous courses, and drawn them into their pernicious schemes; and whereas all such proceedings cannot be deemed in any other light than as public mutiny and sedition, and disregard of the lawful authority of Government, tending to the destruction and to the ruin of the people and of the country;

“Now, therefore, we, with the advice and concurrence of the Honourable the Commander and Council of the return fleet now in this bay, for the good of the Government and the preservation of the public peace, which has already been much disturbed by the said malicious and turbulent persons, and feeling it our duty to provide against the great evils which may arise from such proceedings, using thereto the means which Heaven and our Masters have placed in our hands, have forbidden and interdicted all and every inhabitant of this Colony, whomsoever, by the obedience due to us and to our Government, as we do by these presents interdict and forbid them, that no one shall enter into any combination, association, or conspiracy, or council with the said evil-intentioned inhabitants who have combined against the chief authority, nor shall sign any libellous nor seditious papers under penalty of punishment for sedition; and that all who shall be discovered as inviting or persuading others to sign such papers shall be punished with death, without distinction of persons, as violators of the public peace; and we do by these presents authorize the independent Fiscal and the Landdrost to inform themselves respecting all such persons, and to apprehend all such as may be under suspicion of being engaged in the disgraceful and slanderous conspiracy, wherever they may be found,” and then follows the order already adverted to:—“But, inasmuch as it is possible that some may regret their part in these proceedings, having been misled by the malicious ringleaders in the matter, these are informed that they must instantly appear before the authorities to avow their repentance for their

misdeeds ; otherwise they shall receive the same punishment as the other seditious mutineers."

The punishment of death was, however, never inflicted. The soldiery and police actively exerted themselves to capture the petitioners, and if these people did not at once recant they were either immured in prison, or banished to Mauritius, Ceylon, or Batavia. One of the principal complainants, Jacobus van der Heiden, an old Heemraad and Burgher Lieutenant of Stellenbosch, is stated to have been incarcerated in the same cell with a slave who had been convicted of murder and arson. The suspicions of the Governor were, with good reason, chiefly directed to the later Dutch colonists and the French refugees.*

Nine residents of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, who had been summoned to Cape Town, disobeyed the order, and fled for concealment to the country near Twenty-four Rivers. Mounted soldiers under Landdrost Starrenberg pursued them, but in vain. As recusants they were convicted of sedition, declared infamous, each condemned to pay a fine of 200 rix-dollars, and sentenced to deportation to Mauritius and imprisonment there for five years.† During these arbitrary proceedings, the Governor, if really guilty, committed an unaccountable error in banishing to Holland‡ a burgher councillor named Henning Husing

* To one of these latter the following allusion is made in a book published in Holland in 1713 :—" This Meyer having escaped from the French King's dragoons, and having forsaken all the temporal advantages that God had given him, because he would bear no restraint on his conscience, lived for a time in Germany and elsewhere, and finally had come hither as to a secure retreat, where he hoped to spend the rest of his days in peace and in freedom. But he found himself mistaken indeed, seeing that the Governor, as well as the great King of France, had dragoons at his command, through whom he could make the place intolerable, not only for refugees, but for his own countrymen."

† Three of them were afterwards captured, but the sentence never took effect, as the prosecutions terminated before they could be sent out of the Colony.

‡ It is said that Van der Stell almost immediately repented his rash order, and in the galiot endeavoured unsuccessfully to overtake the ship in which the exiles were.

and four others of the most influential inhabitants. These men, as might have been foreseen, used their best endeavours to gain powerful friends, and soon succeeded in obtaining an order for the recall of the Governor and his principal officers. The despatch in which this mandate was conveyed reached the Colony in April, 1707, and caused the immediate liberation of all the prisoners, some of whom had been in gaol more than thirteen months. "We have had," it is stated in it, "the dissatisfaction to perceive that grave commotions and differences exist between a great number of the colonists and the Cape Government. Much paper hath been covered with complaints and refutations, which have occupied much of our time and given us much trouble. Of all this we say no more than that we expect that such like matters will not again arise; and for the conservation of the public peace, and for other good reasons, we have resolved and do now order that the Governor, W. A. van der Stell, the Secunde Persoon, Samuel Elzivier, the Clergyman, Petrus Kalden, and the Landdrost, Johan Starrenberg, shall be removed and sent hither, *retaining their rank and pay*, but without any authority or office." In other parts of the despatch, it is ordered that "the great mansion shall be razed to the ground, inasmuch as such edifices as display ostentation, and are erected more for the sake of grand appearance than for the use of the Company's servants, as well at the Cape as in India, have always displeased us." The "yunker" Frans is to leave the Colony forthwith; all persons under punishment for conspiracy are to be released; and Van Assenburg is appointed Governor in the room of Van der Stell.

In considering the events which have now been detailed, it is necessary to view the complaints made against Van der Stell with great caution. Many of them were evidently exaggerated, and the embittered feelings with which the petitioners regarded the members of Government lent venom to their shafts. In the *Deductie* published by Van der Stell after his return to Holland, that officer endeavoured to vindicate himself, and states

that his strict adherence to the orders of the Home Government, in preventing illicit traffic and smuggling, was the cause of the malignity exercised towards him by a small but violent portion of the colonists. The *Contra Deductie* was published by Tas and Van der Heiden in answer to this; and here new accusations are added to the former ones, and the alleged discreditable manner in which certain recantations of complaints, and testimonials, were obtained is minutely described. It is difficult to charge Van der Stell with exceeding his powers, when we know that complete and arbitrary control over the colonists had been placed in his hands. All who avowed repentance were at once pardoned; and the act of sending malcontents to Batavia and Holland does not show any desire to shun investigation. At this lapse of time, it is impossible to decide between the accusers and the accused. The Home Government evidently did not believe half the allegations of Van der Stell's enemies, whose charges are couched in terms so violent and exaggerated as scarcely to seem the language of truth. But it would answer no useful purpose to enter into further detail on this subject. It would indeed have been surprising if the Governor and high officials at the Cape had not abused their power. The will of the Commander was always above the law, or rather virtually formed part of it, and the salaries given to officials were so small as to supply a strong incentive to the use of the easy means of acquiring wealth which the Company had placed in their hands. In truth, it is the system, not the officers, which deserves blame, and, although Van der Stell was removed,* the Governor's power remained undiminished. The various Councils could never thwart him, and "the

* The recalled Governor became celebrated in Holland for his devotion to literature and science. He is referred to by Burmann, as the *Præstantissimus Botanophilus* who did much for natural science when at the Cape. Van de Marre, the poet, sings the Governor's praises, and abuses the discontented burghers in *Eer-kroon van de Kaap de Goel Hoep*. The courtesy of the Van der Stells is referred to in Father Tachard's account of the French expedition to Siam.

doctrine by which the East India Company instructed their Prefects to govern was, that the Colony should not be freely cultivated, or industry be freely exercised therein, lest the colonists should become opulent, powerful, and free."

During the government of the younger Van der Stell, the foundation of the Dutch Reformed Church near the Government Gardens was laid, and large exploring parties were sent into the country of the Kafirs and to Namaqualand. Kolben, who visited the Colony at this period, describes Cape Town as large and regularly built, extending from the sea-shore to the valley, and containing several spacious streets, with handsome houses. The dwellings were of stone, with large courts in the front, and beautiful gardens behind them; most of them are stated to have been only one storey high, "and none more than two, in consequence of the violence of the easterly wind." A large building called the Lodge was used for the Company's slaves, "which are mostly brought from Madagascar." A very handsome range of stables contained the Government horses, and Kolben remarks that the "Governor's body-coachman is esteemed a considerable person." In a map published by this writer, two gallows erected near the Castle are conspicuous; and the Castle itself, as well as the old jetty close to it, the Government Gardens, and the Dutch Reformed Church, are the most prominent objects. As regards the water supply, it is stated that "the stream from the Table Hill turns a mill belonging to the Company; from thence it passes through long pipes to the Square or Place des Armes, between the Fortress and Cape Town, where, through pumps, it plentifully supplies both the town and fortress with the most delicious water for drinking." The remarks of this traveller on the subject of the Hottentots have already received attention, and the narrative of his residence at the Cape seems scarcely worthy of an extended notice.

Van Assenburg, who succeeded to the government in 1707,* found the Colony to comprise the present divisions

* Johan Cornelis d'Abbling acted until the arrival of Van Assenburg.

of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, and part of Caledon and Tulbagh. The stock consisted of 130,000 sheep and 20,000 head of cattle, while the Europeans and free burghers were certainly fewer than 2,000, and the slaves numbered rather more. In 1710 the cultivation of the land yielded 20,000 muids of wheat, 1,200 muids of rye, and 1,200 muids of barley.* The manner in which business proceeded was the following:—Tithes of all the produce of the earth were paid to Government, and everything had to be sold at prices fixed by functionaries who were careful in all cases to keep a share of the profits for themselves. Out of forty rix-dollars per leaguer for wine paid by the Company, thirteen rix-dollars were retained by the officials through whose hands the money passed, and the remaining twenty-seven given to the producer. The same rule extended to the traffic in other articles; and it was considered a great boon, only obtained after much exertion, when the owners of surplus stores which the Company did not require were permitted to sell them to foreign ships upon giving a *douceur* to the Fiscal.

* *Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoep.* Valentyn.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes of the Slow Progress of the Cape—Nature of the Government—Governors Van Assenburg, William Helot, and Marquis De Chavonnes—Education—Expeditions of Discovery—Jan de la Fontaine—The Tyranny of Governor Van Noot—His unjust System—Conspiracy against him—His extraordinary death—Free Trade in Cattle and its Results—Murders and Robberies by Natives—State of the Country—The Traveller Sparrman—Governors Van den Henghell and Swellengrebel.

THE stream of Cape colonial history does not rapidly increase in volume as it proceeds. Far different from the rapid progress of the American Colonies, the advance of the Cape was slow and unsatisfactory. A state of torpor, only broken by discontent, was its normal condition, and no real change was effected until the thralldom of mercantile monopoly was thrown off for ever.

“ It is clear that the unfortunate condition to which the country was reduced was the natural result of the false principles on which the Colony had been founded. The attempted union of a mercantile factory of a monopolist nature with a mongrel free colonization, was a signal failure. A commercial establishment, consisting merely of paid servants, receiving wages for duty performed, limited to the occupation of a sufficient market place for the purchase of the cattle required by the passing ships, and a fort for their protection, might have answered the wants of the Dutch traders. This would then have been no Colony, nor the semblance of a Colony. There would have been no hope of prosperity in South Africa; but the native owners of the soil would possibly not have been despoiled and exterminated. They would not have advanced into civilization; but they would have been in existence. In the supposition that no other Europeans would have seized on the land, there would yet have been barbarism at the end of the last century; but the aboriginal inhabitants would not have been swept away by myriads. If the country were not profited, this curse, at least, had not been inflicted.

“On the other hand, had the European colonists not been trammelled, fettered, and repressed in every conceivable mode, wherever their welfare appeared to clash with the pecuniary interest of their masters; had they been permitted the free development of their energies, free commerce, and cultivation, to export what they could raise by their labour from the land, to import what they needed, to exercise their powers in the manner they deemed most conducive to their own prosperity; it is lamentably true, indeed, that the process of extermination of the black man by the white would have been equally rapid, perhaps more rapid than it has been—his disappearance might have been even more complete than at present. Possibly no independent nation of coloured origin would now possess land on the South African continent. The principle which has been carried into practice here, as in the American colonies, that while the coloured races are supposed incapable of prosperity in close contact with the white, the white shall be deemed entitled to seize on all the land of the coloured races, would perhaps have received even yet more terrible and universal application. But the country itself, cultivated by its new energetic proprietors, would not have lost a century and a half of progress.”

These are Mr. Justice Watermeyer's remarks upon the early history of his own country, which had been the subject of his attentive observation and study; but the eloquent writer does not seem to appreciate the possible effects of an enlightened policy upon the coloured tribes. If a strong and just Government which looked upon all men with impartiality could have been established at the Cape early last century, the natives would have found in it a powerful shield against the unbridled license of the colonial farmers. An effective endeavour to teach Christianity to the Hottentots would have been encouraged, and by this means native ferocity could have been softened and the frightful gulf created by prejudice between the white men and the blacks at least partially bridged across. It is not possible to conceive any policy more destructive to both races than the wretched mis-

government of the Dutch Mercantile Association at the Cape. Neither giving commercial advantages to the Europeans, nor civilization and protection to the heathen, the Company drove the former into a constant war with the native races, whose retaliation consisted in the constant perpetration of thefts and outrages.

In April, 1708, a proclamation of Van Assenburg restored freedom and political rights to the citizens who had been proceeded against by Van der Stell. In the next year (1709) False Bay was duly surveyed and declared a safe harbour. It was then very evident that the anchorage in Table Bay was unsafe in winter; and this was sadly proved on the 20th May, 1737, when no fewer than eight Company's ships* were wrecked and 207 lives lost. This severe disaster induced the Home Government to give orders that their vessels should in future winter in Simon's Bay, and large buildings consequently had to be erected there.

Van Assenburg's stay at the Cape was brief; and his successor, Willem Helot, arrived in 1711. During this year the erection of the old gaol was commenced, and in the following year, as has already been mentioned, old Simon van der Stell died, and was buried with all the pomp which his former rank and position demanded. Mauritz Pasquess, Marquis De Chavonnes, a French Huguenot nobleman, was appointed to the Government in 1714, and shortly after his arrival, ordered that the statutes of India, collected towards the end of the preceding century, should form a code of laws for the Colony. Education, but that of a very primitive kind only, received attention, and a definite system was adopted, providing for instruction in "the Lord's Prayer, commandments, creeds, prayers for morning and evening, grace before and after meals, and the catechism." To provide against the belief of the pupils being tampered with, the schoolmasters were obliged to signify their adherence to the Articles of the Dordrecht Synod.

* Named the *Goudman*, *Yperle*, *Flora*, *Paddenburg*, *Westerwyk*, *Buys*, and *Duygbeek*.

Several unfortunate expeditions to the East Coast require mention. In 1721, vessels left Table Bay with the view of establishing a port at Natal; but being unable to discover it, proceeded to Algoa Bay instead. An establishment subsequently formed at Rio de la Goa was always weak, and so dissevered from the Colony, that it became the victim of piratical attacks; while so much discomfort and inconvenience was suffered by the party of occupation,* that mutinies of a serious nature broke out. "A plot at Terleton, on the Rio de la Goa,"† is referred to in the biography of Captain Allemann, and thirty Europeans were massacred there in 1729. To compensate for all this no commercial advantages were derived. A sample of oil was certainly sent to Europe, but it never appears to have been followed by larger quantities; and two parcels of "gold dust," when examined, were found to be nothing but sand. At last, Governor Van Noot was ordered to break up this settlement, and it was finally abandoned in the year 1730. Undaunted by failure, an expedition was shortly afterwards dispatched to the "Tierra de Natal"; but this, like its predecessor, was unsuccessful.

Jan de la Fontaine acted as Commander from the completion of the Marquis De Chavonnes' term of office until the arrival (in 1727) of his successor, Piet Gysbert van Noot. At this time, as indeed at all times under the Company's rule, in consequence of the Governor's power being despotic, a bad ruler was able to gratify his own inclinations with impunity. As the soldiers at the Cape received wretched pay, a system prevailed of permitting a certain number of them to go out as "free-ticket men," and earn a monthly allowance of 9 florins 12 stivers,

* In 1726 the number in this party was 200.

† There is great doubt as to where Rio de la Goa was. Algoa Bay was at one time called "De la Goa," and afterwards Plettenberg's Bay received the same name. "De la Goa" also was the name given to the large Bay to the eastward which still bears this title. *De la Goa* signifies the Bay of Waters. It is believed by some that Algoa and Delagoa were names conferred in connection with Portuguese voyages to and from Goa in the East Indies.

which was called service money, and equally divided among all the soldiers in garrison. It is asserted that Governor Van Noot put this money into his own pocket, under the pretence of supplying shoes, hose, and other necessaries by means of it. The officers remonstrated to the best of their ability against this iniquitous arrangement, and even hinted that a mutiny would probably be the consequence; but Van Noot remained deaf to all their arguments, and put an end to the discussion by declaring that his will was to be law. "Thereat," the contemporary historian states, "the soldiers in the service began to swear; they murmured, they complained, they prayed; but nought would avail; they were silenced with rude blows."* It ought to be explained that at this time there were two classes of people in the service of the Company in India and at the Cape, named *Orlammen* and *Baaren*;† the former of whom consisted of well-known persons who had served for several years; and the latter of new-comers and comparative strangers. The former, being considered trustworthy, had many opportunities of earning money among the burghers; but the unfortunate *Baaren* had to eke out a wretched subsistence upon twenty-eight stivers ration money, and twenty-eight stivers subsidy money per month. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the deprivation of the service money was considered a most cruel hardship, and that a conspiracy, which we will shortly have to describe, was the consequence of this injustice.

* The narrative of events under Van Noot's rule is taken from "*The Biography of Mr. Rudolph Siegfried Allemann, formerly Captain of Militia, Chief of the Garrison, and Commandant of the Castle, as also Chief Merchant in rank, President of the Senate of Justice, and Assessor of the Council of Police, in the service of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope—with an accurate description of that Promontory,*" first referred to at length in the *South African Advertiser and Mail* (June 16, 1866). A copy of this work (supposed to be by O. F. Muntzel) was presented to the South African Library by Mr. Advocate Hiddingh.

† From a corruption of two words in the Malay language, *Oranglami*, an old person or acquaintance; *Orangbaru*, a new person.

But the tyranny of Van Noot extended to other classes besides those in military service, and it is asserted that when the holder of a perpetual quitrent property died, and his heir requested the customary renewal of the lease, this was refused, on the pretext that, although he had inherited the buildings (*opstalling*), the land on which they were situated belonged to the Company. The property was then sold by auction, and the heir of the last possessor had to endeavour to get what compensation he could from the buyer for the buildings, "or break them down and go away." A second "instance of his malice" is thus related:—"Many young farmers annually associated together, and went elephant shooting. They had for that purpose often to go two hundred miles into the interior, to provide various wagons for the journey, a large quantity of provisions, a good supply of powder—in a word, they had to go to considerable expense. Their greatest profits on such expeditions are got by buying cattle and sheep from the Hottentots, in exchange for glass beads, knives, mirrors, little bells, brass buttons, and such like wares. As they never can undertake such an expedition without the knowledge and consent of the Governor, several such companies about this time prayed for permission from Governor Van Noot to undertake the journey. Their prayer was in no case refused; they provided themselves with wagons and draught cattle, engaged several bastard Hottentots, and got together the necessary provisions for such a long and wearisome journey. But when they applied at the Company's stores to buy ammunition, tobacco, and the wares required for their trade, the store-keeper was forbidden to supply them; and when they asked or prayed the Governor for an ordinance or permit, he had all sorts of excuses for refusing it. In short, the people had to remain at home, and were in many cases ruined by the expenses to which they had been put." The writer adds: "A governor who is a trickster can thus find a thousand opportunities to insult the officials and burghers, and do them all sorts of injury." He then proceeds to relate the particulars of the conspiracy

(already referred to) caused by the withdrawal of service money from the *Baaren* and other men in military service. Thirty or forty soldiers, mostly new people, agreed among themselves to obtain a supply of powder and lead; to escape over the castle wall by means of a rope; and then to march along the coast until they reached some Portuguese or other settlement, whence they could proceed to Europe. The plot was ripening, and many had given in their adhesion to it, when one of the conspirators suddenly discovered all to the Governor. Van Noot immediately ordered those concerned to be arrested, and the Fiscal was sternly commanded to institute the strictest investigation. Eight persons, among whom was a German cavalier of very good family, named Herr Von E——,* and

* The writer of Captain Allemann's biography states:—"It need not excite surprise that mention is here made of a German cavalier who was going out to East India as a common soldier. There were more gentlemen of that class at the Cape. In the year 1735, a young soldier came to the Cape, who simply called himself D——, and gave himself out to be an embroiderer, an art in which he was quite a master. The Governor of the day, Johan de la Fontaine, ordered him into his presence, gave him a piece of exceeding fine Chinese scarlet velvet, and silver cord to embroider it. When this coat was nearly finished it was accidentally destroyed by fire, which had such an effect upon the poor workman as to cause his death. Subsequently, the Fiscal Independent received letters from Holland, in which he was requested to make inquiries whether the young Count D——, a gentleman about 22 (who proved to have been the embroiderer) had not arrived at the Cape. About the same time, a Swedish Baron, Kayserfeldt, also arrived at the Cape. They wished to favour him before others, and he was soon promoted to the Governor's guard. But, gentle and refined cavalier as was the Count D——, this baron was a great fool, and therefore was not kept long at the Cape, but packed off to Batavia." With regard to the truthfulness of Capt. Allemann's biographer, we must ask our readers to judge for themselves. He displays considerable animus against Van Noot, and it is very probable that most of his statements require to be taken *cum grano salis*. In one part of his book he represents this Governor as being uniformly kind and considerate to Mr. Allemann, and also to Capt. Rhenius, but adds, "the reader may not unnaturally be led to suppose that Governor Van Noot was a true friend to his kind, and a beneficent angel; but he was nothing of the sort: he was, in the truest sense, an enemy to all—an incarnate devil." A drama, successfully performed in Cape Town, is founded on the statements made by this writer.

two theological candidates, were considered to be the ringleaders of the plot, and imprisoned in a dungeon where those condemned to death were confined. The escape of the leader (Von E——) was dexterously planned by Lieutenant Allemann, "who had taken a great interest in him when he heard that he was a countryman of high birth." He persuaded Von E—— to feign illness, so that his removal to the hospital was effected, and shortly afterwards secretly conveyed him on board a foreign ship lying in the Bay.*

* It has been thought better to give the identical words of this narrative, as there is little or no corroborative testimony regarding the details furnished :—

"As regards the seven other prisoners confined in the 'blackhole,' a process was framed against them, and when the trial was over, they were condemned by the Senate of Justice each to run the gauntlet ten times, and then to be sent to Batavia as sailors. But this sentence did not please the Governor. He cried out, like another Wallenstein, 'They shall all hang, the brutes! they shall all hang!' The Fiscal-Independent and the whole Senate protested against this, and remonstrated that these people could not receive sentence of death, since they had only planned a desertion, but had not carried it out, and had, besides, been driven to it by being deprived of privileges to which they had a right. But their arguments and pleadings were of no avail. The Governor interrupted them with the authoritative sentence, 'I take the responsibility,' and the Senate had to be silent. A criminal sentence was made out against them, with the usual Dutch formalities, that they were to be hung with a rope from the gallows until death followed. The Governor immediately signed his name on the margin, with the terrible death warrant, *fiat executio!*

"The following morning early, between eight and nine o'clock, the sentence of death was read to the seven prisoners, and they were informed that the execution would take place the next day at nine o'clock. As soon as the sentence had been communicated to them, the second minister of the Reformed Church entered the now opened but doubly guarded dungeon to prepare the condemned for death. But one of the theological candidates requested the minister to be pleased to go back to his house, remarking that he and his companions all belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that he and the other candidate would try to console and prepare themselves and their companions for death. The minister announced this to the Governor, and he, who generally showed no feeling for religion, was quite content to let him depart. On the same day the prisoners were, according to custom, fed from the Governor's kitchen, and supplied with everything they

The preceding account of these transactions is furnished by a contemporary writer, whose book breathes hatred to Governor Van Noot. If this Commander were

wanted. But they ate little, and spent most of the day in singing and prayer.

“The following morning early, at eight o'clock, the whole garrison, with the free-ticket men who had uniforms, paraded in the Castle-yard or field of arms, and at nine o'clock marched past the Governor's house, but, as usual on such occasions, commanded by only one officer. The prisoners were brought from their dungeon by a guard, and the sentence of death and the notice of their crime were again read to them from the top of the steps which, running up both sides of the entrance to Government-house, form a sort of small balcony. Thereupon the garrison marched off and paraded at the place of execution, forming in circle round the gallows. The prisoners were then gently led away and brought to the spot. The one candidate took three and the other two of their companions, and comforted and prayed with them as they went. A large tent is on such occasions erected at the place of execution, and hither the whole Senate of Justice is escorted by the Governor's guard. The sergeant of the guard marched in front with six grenadiers; then follows the messenger of justice with a long thorn wand, mounted with silver at both ends, in his hand, and carrying his hat under his arm. Behind him came all the members of the Senate, walking two and two, and the corporal of the guard with six grenadiers closed the procession. The members of the Senate seated themselves in the chairs provided for them in the tent, and watched the whole execution from beginning to end. The two candidates knelt down with their companions at the place of execution, prayed with great feeling and edification, and took most affectionate and impressive leave of each other, as one after the other they were led away to execution. Millions of tears were shed by the soldiers and spectators standing around; even the members of the Senate of Justice could not conceal their tears and emotion. At last the turn came to the first of the two candidates, and they said farewell, in the hope and assurance of soon meeting again in the holy tabernacle above. Last of all the second candidate was also led to the ladder. The hangman was about to put the rope round his neck, when he interrupted him, ‘Pardon me a moment; I have something to say.’ The executioner stopped, and the candidate turned his face towards the Castle, and the Government-house beyond the gate, and cried with a loud voice, ‘Governor Van Noot, I summon you in this very hour before the judgment-seat of Omniscient God, there to give account of the souls of myself and my companions. Now, in God's name,’ said he, turning to the hangman, allowed the rope to be fixed round his neck, and ascended the ladder with a firm step, when another rope was put round his neck, and when both had been fixed to the

guilty of the excessive cruelty and injustice laid to his charge, he was a monster in human form, whose memory merits execration. But there is a lack of

cross-beam, the hangman pushed him from the ladder, and there he hung, dead, without a single struggle.

"After the execution, the whole Senate, escorted by the guard in the order before mentioned, returned to the Castle and to the Governor's house to report to him, as duty and custom required, the execution of the sentence. They entered together into the large audience-hall, in which the meetings of the Senate were held, and in which also the Governor's table was spread at midday. The Governor was sitting at the end of the hall in an arm-chair. They bowed to him; but the Governor did not make the least sign of recognition. The gentlemen drew nearer to address him, when, merciful God! they saw that he sat motionless in his chair.* He was dead; despair was on his countenance, and he had such a horrible look, that all the gentlemen suddenly and together stepped back, greatly alarmed, and quite overcome with wonder and horror. From this first shock they could scarcely recover themselves or think what they were doing. An alarm and cry got up, 'The Governor is dead!' but no one could or would believe it; for he had been seen only half-an-hour before healthy and hearty. Every living being in the Castle rushed to the spot; but the guard at the door of Government-house at once got orders to admit no one. The doors were locked, and the Senate adjourned to the house of Acting-Governor La Fontaine, to deliberate as to what had best be done.

"One of the remaining prisoners under arrest, a man named Winkelman, had a sudden idea, and shouted out, 'Noot (Need) is dead; now there is no need!' (*Nood is dood; nu is er geen nood.*) This was the signal to the other prisoners, who shouted out in chorus, and in a moment all the soldiers, workmen, and sailors in the Castle—nay, it would not be wrong to say everything that had life—echoed the cry, 'Nood is dead; now there is no need!' This very Winkelman, who was afterwards promoted to be sergeant, used, when relating the tale, suddenly to get quite enthusiastic when he remembered and vividly pictured the great joy which possessed all.

"As soon as the gentlemen of the Senate had recovered themselves and calmly weighed the matter, they gave orders to the carpenters to prepare a very mean coffin or shell, and, when that was brought into the Governor's house, his slaves were to take up the dead body and put it in just as it was. At midnight, the captain of the guard ordered a small gate, which opened from the back of the Castle into the open

* The chair in which Van Noot died is preserved in the South African Museum, Cape Town.

evidence on the subject, so that it is necessary to receive Allemann's narrative with great caution. The dramatic manner in which the wicked Governor is summoned to

field, and which was called the sally-port, to be opened, and the slaves had to take the shell with the body and bury it at a spot pointed out to them. They were forbidden, upon pain of death, to speak of the matter, and still less to reveal the spot where they had buried him. Thus the matter remained a secret; and it was only presumed that he had been interred on an islet at the head of the Bay, called Paarden Island.

"The carpenters had after this to prepare a magnificent coffin of Indian teak, and, as soon as this was ready, the funeral ceremonies were arranged with an empty coffin. The two trumpeters whom the Company allows to the Governor at the Cape, went before, with their trumpets muffled in black cloth. An ensign, with pike reversed, and draped in black cloth, led the six hautboy-players, whose instruments were also draped with black cloth. Then followed the Commandant and all the other officers, with the whole garrison, marching with arms reversed; the spontoons were simply draped, but both banners were completely enveloped in black. The drums of the drummers were each wrapped round and muffled with three ells of black cloth, and the sergeants had crape on their halberds. The Adjutant, apparently in deep mourning, but inwardly rejoicing, bore aloft on a pole covered with black cloth, and with long pieces of crape fluttering from it, the Governor's coat-of-arms, painted on a square board. Then came the empty coffin, borne by secretaries and assistants, and surrounded by the Governor's guard. Four under-merchants held the four corners of the pall. Behind the coffin followed the Acting-Governor, the Fiscal-Independent, the clergy, merchants, and all people of distinction. In marching past, the guard at the gate presented arms, the officers saluted, and the drummers beat their drums. Every minute during the procession, according to a watch held in his hand by the constable, a gun was fired from the bastions of the Castle, and answered from all the ships lying in the Bay, and at each gun the flags on the ships, as well as the one flying on the Catteneienbogen bastion of the Castle, were dipped. After the coffin had been carried into the church and interred in the vault, the whole garrison fired three rounds with small arms, each of which was answered by the guns from the Castle, and then the soldiers marched back to the strains of lively music. Never was the well-known return-march, 'Praise God that he is dead! praise God that he is dead!' played more gaily than it was played by the drummers on this occasion. As this imposing ceremony had been conducted with an empty coffin, the common people found cause to believe and to relate that the devil had made away even with the soulless body of the deceased Governor Van Noot."

judgment seems copied from several tales of the same nature to be found in European history. The *ipsissima verba* of Allemann have been purposely furnished to enable our readers to draw their own conclusions from them.

Jan de la Fontaine acted as Governor upon the death of Van Noot, and was eventually confirmed in the office. "It would be a mere waste of patience to narrate a change of functionaries from time to time, without a variation in the mode of administration, or in the actual position of the country. Varied names, and unvaried complaints, though extending over a succession of years, revealing the same state of circumstances throughout, would afford but a dull and uninteresting lesson."* Unfortunately, the chief historical features of the eighteenth century are discontent and disaffection on the part of Europeans,† tyranny of Government functionaries, and thieving incursions of the Bushmen, followed by severe reprisals. No immigration took place, and the annoyances suffered from the spirit of independence displayed by the French Protestants no doubt tended to render the Government disinclined to encourage any. Of course individuals who had retired from the Company's service, including discharged soldiers and sailors, were from time to time permitted to settle, and it is particularly necessary to bear in mind that many of the alleged acts of tyranny committed towards them were based on the special terms of their deeds of burghership.

* Watermeyer's Lectures, p. 48.

† "Had the English fleet not arrived at a propitious time to relieve the country from the feeble yet oppressive misrule of the once mighty merchant monarchs of the East, it is at least historically probable that, although the Dutch flag may have continued to wave in the fort at Cape Town—from Hottentot's Holland to the Zuurveld, where the Boer already held possession, throughout Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet, the standard of independence would have been successfully raised, and a free State would have been established on the ruin of the Company's sway, before the close of the last century. The Republic of Potgieter and Pretorius would have been anticipated by fifty years, and within the limits of the old Colony."—Watermeyer, p. 47.

Adrian van Kervel succeeded Governor De la Fontaine in 1736, and Daniel van den Henghell ruled the Colony for nearly two years,* from 1737, and was succeeded in 1739 by Hendrik Swellengrebel, after whom the great division and the village of Swellendam were named. Sparrman says, "All such peasants as live in Roodezand, and the whole of that tract of country that lies to the eastward, are under the jurisdiction of Swellendam, and are obliged, at a certain time of the year, to appear before the Landdrost and perform their exercise. This falls very heavy on such as live at a great distance, some of them dwelling, perhaps, five hundred miles off; on which account likewise they frequently pretend impediments, or else submit to pay the fine at once." Stellenbosch was the other great division to which the inhabitants of "Camdeboo, Sneeuwberg, Bokkeveld, Roggeveld, and Anamaqua" had to repair; while the Cape burghers, and the Tygerberg peasants went to Cape Town.† The Colony was fast extending in size. Loan places beyond Piquetberg were granted in 1742, and the Gamtoos River was considered as the eastern boundary dividing the Dutch possessions from Kafirland.

When the free trade in cattle was allowed, it was on

* Adrian van Kervel was the immediate successor of Jan de la Fontaine, but only remained in the Colony a few months.

† It is said that some converts (Parliamentary Papers, 1835, p. 18) resided at Sergeant's River, a small branch of the Zonder End. and one of these, according to Sparrman, "used to perform her devotions every morning on her bare knees by the side of a spring." The Moravian Society received frequent reports expressing the desire of the Hottentots that Schmidt should return; but their repeated applications to the Dutch East India Company for leave to establish a mission were refused. At length, in the year 1792, they obtained permission to send three ministers, who established themselves at Baviaan's Kloof, and held their meetings under a large pear tree planted by Schmidt half a century before. The old convert mentioned by Sparrman (a woman named Helena) was still alive, and read to the astonished missionaries the narrative of our Saviour's birth. For details on the subject of the Moravians in South Africa, see *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, by Holmes.

condition that no force or compulsion should be made use of. As might have been foretold, this license was converted into a means of oppression, and large bands of armed colonists frequently forced the natives to give up their cattle for inadequate compensation, and then divided the spoil among themselves. This subject is one of importance, and it is therefore necessary to give a retrospective glance at the proceedings of the traders, and to endeavour to illustrate the manner in which their operations were conducted. In 1702, one of these parties, comprising forty-five persons, returned to the settlement with 2,000 cattle, which they had forcibly seized from the Hottentots. From the inquiry instituted by Governor Van der Stell, it appeared that they took some Bushmen as prisoners, whom they compelled to show them the kraal of a Captain Snell. Taking this Snell with them as an interpreter and guide, they advanced four days' journey further into the interior, when they were met by natives* armed with assagais and shields, who, as they were afterwards informed, had come out in this manner to "massacre" them. The assailants were easily repulsed, and one, taken alive, was afterwards beaten to death by Hottentots, at the command of the Dutch. Continuing their march, two kraals of "the Hovisons and Gonaquaas" were surprised, and no fewer than 2,270 cattle and 2,500 sheep captured. At the earnest request of the Hottentots, forty head of old cows and a small flock of sheep were left with them, and a few presents of tobacco and beads given. Several men, women, and children had been shot, and one Dutchman was killed by an assagai during the first encounter. This party of adventurers arrived near the Cape after a homeward journey of fourteen days, when they immediately divided the spoil, and signed an agreement binding themselves not to betray each other. This conduct incited the natives to acts of savage retaliation from which many innocent people suffered, and induced the Government to repeal the permission for cattle

* They are styled "Caffers;" but this is a name which was frequently applied indiscriminately to all the coloured races.

trading granted in the year 1700. But the authorities scarcely dared to punish the colonists, because, says a despatch of the Governor and Council, "half of the Colony would be ruined, so great is the number of the inhabitants implicated."* Subsequently, the cattle trade was again sanctioned, and there is no doubt that feelings of intense animosity between the Europeans and the native races were engendered by it. Such a system had been in practice previous to 1723, that complaints made by the Hottentots in that year were laid before the Council by the churchwardens at the Paarl,† and in 1727 the cattle trade was again temporarily prohibited, in consequence of the poverty to which the natives were reduced by it. As illustrative of the manner in which bargaining was conducted under Government auspices, and of the state of the country early in the eighteenth century, it is desirable to insert a few extracts from the journal of the Landdrost Johannes Starreberg Kupt, on his journey to the Gonnemaas, Grigriquaas, and Namaqua Hottentots:—"On Friday, the 16th October, 1705," he says, "we left the Cape. . . . On the 20th, in the afternoon, it was reported to us that the Gonnemaas Hottentots (who were the nearest) did not like to traffic with us, and for that reason had travelled over the mountain into the land of Waaveren, out of our road; but that a captain called Boatsman was living with his kraal beyond the Twenty-four Rivers, towards which we accordingly directed our course, and arrived there at sunset. As soon as we had pitched our tent, we saluted this Chief with a dram and a good tabutje, in the name of the Honourable Company, and gave him to understand that we came to barter for some working cattle,—that His Honour the Governor, being informed that he was a good fellow, and rich in cattle, had ordered us to go to him, and that it was expected he would assist us. We then gave him a second dram, but it availed us nothing. He made reply that we

* See Parliamentary Papers, No. 584, for 1830, p. 2.

† Parliamentary Papers, 1835, p. 17.

must go first to the other Gonnemaas. . . . I then said that he must be a fool to think I was come with so many wagons and people so far to traffic for three oxen; that he might take them also back, and that I should break up and depart. At last I obtained nine fine young oxen and nine sheep, for which we gave ten strings of copper beads, thirteen pounds of tobacco, glass beads, and brandy. These cattle we left with him till our return. On the 26th we arrived at Hannibal's kraal. Here six captains had joined, and formed altogether twenty-three huts. I asked how it was that they had so few cattle, as the Honourable Company had never trafficked with them; on which they informed us that a certain free man, going by the name of Drunken Gerrit, some years ago, accompanied by some other people, had come to their kraal, and without saying a word had fired upon them from all sides, chased away the Hottentots, burnt their huts, and carried off all their cattle, without their knowing the reason for it, since they had never offended any of the Dutch. That, in consequence of having lost all their cattle, they were obliged to go to the bordering Dutch to collect some, and to rob their own countrymen; and whenever they could get any, they drove them into the mountains and feasted till all was consumed; then they went to fetch other cattle, and in this they succeeded several times, and had still a few of the cattle left. From another quarter they are also plagued with robberies from a nation of Hottentots living on the other side of Elephants River, in inaccessible mountains, and whose country is called in their language Thynema, and the captains of these robbers Throgama, Tkousa, Deodie, Skerringrood. By these they are constantly plagued, and but seldom able to revenge themselves. But their most bitter and exasperated complaints are about the wicked behaviour of this Drunken Gerrit, who has been the cause of all the calamities and bloodshed that has since occurred in several encounters with the Dutch. They were obliged, they said, in order to save the small quantity of cattle left them, and to procure victuals for their wives and children, to fight daily with the elephants, and thus obtain subsistence with the greatest danger of their lives. They added

that they set great value on the benevolence and friendship of the Honourable Company, which I commended so highly to them, and wished much to embrace the same on all opportunities. And, verily, I have discovered in the manners and behaviour of these people, and by our intercourse with them, much more genuine good nature than in other Hottentots. . . . 28th.—Fourteen head of cattle, for which we gave eighteen strings of copper beads, eighteen pounds of tobacco, glass beads and brandy. This is a very disagreeable country. Throughout the whole way we found nothing but sand-hills, and valleys full of stones and mole-hills, where cattle and horses sink continually up to the knees; it is full of bushes, but destitute of grass. In former times, large herds of elephants were found in this and the country we had passed through. The reason there are few now is that the circumjacent Hottentots, sunk in the deepest poverty, have been compelled to have recourse to the hunting of elephants, and thus to kill and drive away these animals. They still allow them no rest; for as soon as one is spied by their Sonquas, who wander daily in the fields to catch dasjés, jackals, and other animals, the whole kraal is advertised of it: all the young men assemble, and assail those animals till from fatigue, and wounds from assagais and arrows, they expire. 4th November.—We proceeded with the bartering, and after a great deal of talking and haggling, we succeeded in procuring thirty-three head of cattle for thirty-three pounds of tobacco, thirty-three strings of copper beads, thirty-three strings of glass beads, and thirty-three tobacco pipes; and also fourteen sheep for seven pounds of tobacco. We also made a present to the captains and their followers of four strings of copper beads and two pounds of tobacco. I was much vexed to have found during a journey of twelve days along such a tedious and troublesome road no more than two kraals, and which, although mustering ten captains, were so badly provided with cattle. From this I have learned with sorrow how, by the lately opened free traffic and the misbehaviour of these vagabonds, the whole country has been ruined; for when one kraal was robbed by the Dutch,

the sufferers were driven to rob others, and these again their neighbours. With the plunder they retired into the mountains and feasted till it was consumed, when they went again in search of other booty. And thus from a people living in peace and happiness, divided into kraals under chiefs, and subsisting quietly by the breeding of cattle, they are become almost all of them huntsmen, Bosjesmen, and robbers, and are dispersed everywhere among the barren and rugged mountains." When the writer concludes his journal he had been fifty-two days actively employed, and had only obtained 179 oxen.*

* The following narrative of an encounter with a lion is extracted from Kupt's Journal. The generous bravery of the native who interposed his own person and life to protect the strangers is especially worthy of notice :—" We pitched our tent a musket-shot from the kraal, and after having arranged everything, went to rest, but were soon disturbed, for about midnight the cattle and horses, which were standing between the wagons, began to start and run, and one of the drivers to shout, on which everyone ran out of the tent with his gun. About thirty paces from the tent stood a lion, which, on seeing us, walked very deliberately about thirty paces farther, behind a small thorn-bush, carrying something with him which I took to be a young ox. We fired more than sixty shots at that bush, and pierced it stoutly without perceiving any movement. After the cattle had been quieted again, and I had looked over everything, I missed the sentry from before the tent—Jan Smit, of Antwerp, belonging to the Groenekloof. We called as loudly as possible, but in vain—nobody answered, from which I concluded that the lion had carried him off. Three or four men then advanced very cautiously to the bush, which stood right opposite the door of the tent, to see if they could discover anything of the man, but returned helter-skelter, for the lion, who was there still, rose up and began to roar. They found there the musket of the sentry, which was cocked, and also his cap and shoes. We fired again a hundred shots at the bush. We continued our firing; the night passed away and the day began to break, which animated everyone to aim at the lion, because he could not go from thence without exposing himself entirely, as the bush stood directly against a steep kloof. Seven men, posted on the farthest wagons, watched him, to take aim at him if he should come out. At last, before it became quite light, he walked up the hill with the man in his mouth, when about forty shots were fired at him without hitting him, although some were very near. I gave permission to some to go in search of the man's corpse, in order to bury it, on condition that they should take a good party of armed Hottentots with them, and

At various times complaints were made by the natives of murders and robberies committed by the colonists. In 1739, several of these statements having been submitted to the Fiscal for examination, that officer reported against the Hottentots, and a commando was therefore sent out to reduce them to order. A species of predatory warfare was commenced in very early times by the Bushmen, who directed their attacks against the Dutch and their possessions so cunningly and continually as to exasperate the farmers to the utmost. According to Sparrman,* “the inhabitants of the more distant Sneeuw Mountains were sometimes obliged entirely to relinquish their dwellings and habitations on account of the savage plundering race of Boshiesmen, who, from their hiding places, shooting forth their poisoned arrows at the shepherd, kill him, and afterwards drive away the whole of his flock, which perhaps consists of several hundred sheep and forms the chief, if not the whole, of the farmer’s property. What they cannot drive away with them they kill and wound as much as the time will allow them while they are

made them promise that they would not run into danger. On this, seven of them, assisted by forty-three armed Hottentots, followed the track, and found the lion about half a league farther on, lying behind a little bush. On the shout of the Hottentots, he sprang up and ran away, on which they all pursued him. At last the beast turned round, and rushed, roaring terribly, amongst the crowd. The people, fatigued and out of breath, fired and missed him, on which he made directly towards them. The captain or chief head of the kraal here did a brave act in aid of two of the people whom the lion attacked. The gun of one of them missed fire, and the other missed his aim, on which the captain threw himself between the lion and the people, so close that the lion struck his claws into the kaross of the Hottentot; but he was too agile for him, doffed his kaross, and stabbed him with an assagai. Instantly the other Hottentots hastened on, and adorned him with their assagais so that he looked like a porcupine. Notwithstanding this, he did not leave off roaring and leaping, and bit off some of the assagais, till the marksman, Jan Stammanusz, fired a ball into his eye, which made him turn over, and he was then shot dead by the other people. He was a tremendously large beast, and had but a short time before carried off a Hottentot from the kraal and devoured him.”

* Vol. ii., p. 141.

making their retreat. It is in vain to pursue them, they being very swift of foot, and taking refuge up in the steep mountains, which they are able to run up almost as nimbly as baboons or monkeys. From thence they roll down large stones on any that is imprudent enough to follow them. The approach of night gives them time to withdraw themselves entirely from those parts by ways and places with which none but themselves are acquainted. Those banditti collected together in bodies to the amount of some hundreds, coming from their hiding-places and the clefts in the mountains, in order to commit fresh depredations and robberies. One of the colonists, who had been obliged to fly from these mountains, testified that the Boshiesmen grew bolder every day, and seemed to increase in numbers, since people had, with greater eagerness, set about extirpating them. It was this, doubtless, which occasioned them to collect together into large bodies, in order to withstand the encroachments of the colonists, who had already taken from them their best dwelling and hunting-places. An instance is recorded of a Boshiesman having besieged a peasant with his wife and children, in their cottage, till at length he drove them off by repeatedly firing among them. They had lately carried off from a farmer the greater part of his cattle. Not long before this, however, they had suffered a considerable defeat in the following manner. Several farmers, who perceived that they were not able to get at the Boshiesmen by the usual methods, shot a sea-cow, and took only the prime part of it for themselves, leaving the rest of it by way of bait, they themselves, in the meanwhile, lying in ambush. The Boshiesmen, with their wives and children, now came down from their hiding-places, with an intention to feast sumptuously on the sea-cow that had been shot; but the farmers, who came back again very unexpectedly, turned the feast into a scene of blood and slaughter.” “Pregnant women and children in their tenderest years were not, at this time—neither, indeed, are they ever—exempt from the effects of the hatred and spirit of vengeance constantly harboured

by the colonists with respect to the Boshiesman nation ;* excepting such, indeed, as are marked out to be carried away in bondage."

Sparrman travelled in South Africa during the years 1775-6, and may consequently be looked upon as an authority on the subject of the relations of the Dutch colonists towards the native tribes, though it must be admitted that he seems prejudiced against the former. There can be no doubt, however, that there is sufficient evidence to prove that lamentable feelings of hostility continually existed between the European farmers and the Hottentots, inciting the former to drive "the heathen" from their ancient settlements, and to treat them as "black cattle," neither deserving of the exertions of Christianity nor worthy of being treated with common humanity. Frightful acts of rapine, murder, and pillage were continually committed by the Bushmen, which so exasperated the Boers as to make them suppose a war of extermination justifiable; and arguments, based on the conduct of each other, were easily and constantly found by both to foster mutual animosity.

It is true that the Government of the Colony took no other part in the cruelties exercised by its subjects than that of rarely taking any notice of them; presuming, no doubt, that in most instances they had been justified by the conduct of the savages. The mere mercantile Deputy Government, which held the reins of power in Cape Town, was, indeed, not only indisposed, but really unable, to

* This is a gross exaggeration. However vindictive the Dutch may have been, smarting under constant thefts of stock, they, as a rule, spared the women and children. Sparrman says:—"Does a colonist at any time get sight of a Boshiesman, he takes fire immediately, and spirits up his horse and dogs, in order to hunt him with more ardour and fury than he would a wolf or other wild beast. On an open plain a few colonists on horseback are always sure to get the better of the greatest number of Boshiesmen that can be brought together. . . . In the district of Sneeuwberg the Landdrost has appointed one of the farmers, with the title of veld-corporal, to command in these wars, and, as occasion may require, to order out the country people alternately in separate parties."

check the fierce passions of half-civilized farmers, scattered over a very extensive country, and smarting under the severe thefts and outrages of beings whom they looked upon as created by God to be their slaves and inferiors. We have already seen that efforts had been occasionally made by the authorities to check the evils arising from unjust trading, and it must not be imagined that all the colonists were in favour of native persecutions. Sparrman, who is not likely to err in favour of the Dutch, emphatically says:—"I am far from accusing all the colonists of having a hand in these and other cruelties, which are too frequently committed in this quarter of the globe."^{*} It would be uninteresting, if it were even possible, to give details of the aggressive movements of the Dutch against the Hottentot tribes, and of the skirmishes and encounters which the advanced guard of colonists were so frequently engaged in with the Bushmen. By degrees the natives became divided into two classes—one of which sank into servitude as herds and domestics, while the other retreated to remote districts or to mountain recesses, from which they could harass and rob the Europeans. Complaints from farmers became so numerous that in 1774 the first of a series of commandos was sent out by order of Government, whose proceedings will have to be referred to when the subject of the native races is again discussed. The lack of missionary enterprise is

* This writer adds (vol. ii., p. 144):—"While some of the colonists plumed themselves upon these cruelties, there were many who, on the contrary, held them in abomination, and feared lest the vengeance of Heaven should, for all these crimes, fall upon their land and posterity." This traveller says (vol. ii., p. 21):—"Many of the ignorant Hottentots and Indians not having been able to form any idea of the Dutch East India Company and the Board of Direction, the Dutch, from the very beginning, in India, politically gave out the Company for one individual powerful prince, by the Christian name of Jan or John. This likewise procured them more respect than if they had actually been able to make the Indians comprehend that they were really governed by a company of merchants. On this account I ordered my interpreter to say, further, that we were the children of *Jan Company*, who had sent us out to view this country, and collect plants for medical purposes."

strikingly observable in the early history of the Colony, and the first systematic attempt to convert the heathen appears to have been made by the Moravian minister George Schmidt, who preached to the Hottentots near the River-Zonder-End, in the present Caledon division, between the years 1739 and 1742. His efforts were disapproved of, and he did not succeed in securing the goodwill of either the Boers or the Government. He was prohibited from christening the natives, and banished from the country for the offence of having "illegally made himself a chief among the Hottentots in those parts, in order to enrich himself by their labour, and the presents they made him of cattle."*

* It is said that some converts (Parliamentary Papers, 1835, p. 18) resided at Sergeant's River, a small branch of the Zonder-End, and one of these, according to Sparrman, "used to perform her devotions every morning on her bare knees by the side of a spring." The Moravian Society received frequent reports expressing the desire of the Hottentots that Schmidt should return; but their repeated applications to the Dutch East India Company for leave to establish a mission were refused. At length, in the year 1792, they obtained permission to send three ministers, who established themselves at Baviaan's Kloof and held their meetings under a large pear tree planted by Schmidt half a century before. The old convert mentioned by Sparrman (a woman named Helena) was still alive, and read to the astonished missionaries the narrative of our Saviour's birth. (For details on the subject of the Moravians in South Africa, see *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren*, by Holmes.)

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival of Baron Imhoff—Commander Anson—Le Caille—Governor Ryk van Tulbagh—State of Society—"Pracht and Praal"—Sumptuary Regulations—Financial State of the Colony one hundred years ago—Statistics—Slavery—Loss of the British Merchant Ship *Doddington*—Discovery and Mercantile Enterprise—Death of Tulbagh—New Hospital and Barracks—Sparman the Traveller—Captain Cook—Description of the Cape—The Loss of the Ship *Jonge Thomas*—Heroism of Woltemade—Baron Von Plettenberg Governor—Migration to the Interior—Lawlessness and Discontent—Petitions for Redress of Grievances sent to Holland.

BARON IMHOFF, twenty-seventh Governor-General of Dutch India, arrived at the Cape in 1742, and was received with great ceremony. In 1744, Commander Anson, in the *Centurion*, visited Table Bay, and Le Caille, the French astronomer, took up his residence in Cape Town in 1751, for the purpose of measuring an arc of the meridian.* In this last-mentioned year one of the most famous and most popular of Cape rulers, Ryk van Tulbagh, who had been formerly a private soldier, was appointed Governor, and, during the long term of twenty years during which he held office, appears to have given unqualified satisfaction. Being a strict disciplinarian, and an enemy to luxury, Tulbagh thought it his duty to oppose any departure from strict simplicity of life, and he consequently lost no time in adapting to the Cape the provisions of a law against ostentation, introduced by Governor-General Jacob Mossel into the Indian possessions of the Netherlands. Before quoting from these "Praal and Praacht" Regulations, it is necessary that we should understand the social position of colonists about the middle of the eighteenth century. There were only four "Opper Koopmannen," or Senior

* He finished his work in 1753. Le Caille is said to have lodged at No. 2, Strand-street. At the time of his visit, Cape Town extended east as far as Plein-street. An attempt to construct a stone pier in Table Bay is said to have been made in 1745.

Merchants—namely, the Governor, Mynheer de Secunde (sometimes called the “Vice-Gouverneur”), the independent Fiscal, and the Commandant of the Castle. The High Court of Policy, the Executive and Legislative Councils, as well as the Court of Justice,* were formed by these four officers, assisted by the Secretary of the Council, the Purveyor-General, the Storekeeper (*Pakhuismeester*), and *de Winkelier* (agent for selling Company’s goods), on whom the title of merchants was conferred. The junior merchants were more numerous, consisting of about thirty officers, including the Secretary of the Court of Justice, Lieutenants in the Army, the Accountant, Assistant Fiscal, members of the Municipal Council, and Commandants of Militia, the Clergyman, and the Landdrosts of Stellenbosch and Swellendam. As there were nine thousand inhabitants of European extraction, and eight thousand slaves, the higher or privileged classes formed but a small proportion of the community. Article 4 of the Sumptuary Regulations provides that every person, without exception, shall stop his carriage and get out of it when he shall see the Governor approach; and shall likewise get out of the way, so as to allow a convenient passage to the carriage of any of the members of the Court of Policy. As regards “large umbrellas,” it is ordered (Art. 6) “that no less in rank than a junior merchant, and those among the citizens of equal rank, and the wives and daughters of those only who are, or have been, members of any council, shall venture to use umbrellas.” Art. 7 provides that “those who are less in rank than merchants shall not enter the Castle in fine weather with an open umbrella.” The female sex is especially referred to in the following terms:—“No women below the wives of junior merchants, or those who among citizens are of the same rank, may wear silk dresses with silk braiding or embroidery, nor any diamonds nor mantelets; and, although the wives of the junior merchants may wear these ornaments, they shall

* The Governor and M. de Secunde were generally absent from the Court of Justice, in which case the Commandant of the Castle presided.

not be entitled to allow their daughters to wear them. All women, married or single, without distinction, are prohibited, whether in mourning or out of mourning, under a penalty of twenty-five rix-dollars, to wear dresses with a train." Dust was not to be strewn before the house door as a sign of bereavement, nor more than one undertaker employed, except in case of the death of a Governor, or a member of the Court of Policy. The placaat further enters into minute details as to the number of servants and horses that each rank might have, the dresses of various classes, and specially those of brides and their friends at wedding ceremonies.* These preposterous laws seem to have caused no dissatisfaction, and as the strict discipline of Tulbagh was never carried out with unnecessary severity, the people were contented and happy. So little, indeed, did colonists feel the want of what are styled free institutions, that the period of Tulbagh's rule was considered the golden age of the Cape; and about the close of last century old inhabitants used to discourse of the blessings and advantages which resulted from this Governor's paternal sway.

Having now arrived at a period in Cape history a hundred years ago—midway between the arrival of Van Riebeeck and the present day—it is desirable to advert to the financial state of the Colony and to its sources of wealth. We have already glanced at the social position of the people, and at the manner in which the Courts of Law and the Councils of Government were constituted. According to a census taken in the year 1769, the total number of the "Company's servants" was 1,356; sick in hospital, 399; and colonists of European extraction, 7,949; while the slaves comprised no fewer than 7,187 adults and 917 children.†

* This Placaat is so illustrative of the times when it was promulgated, and otherwise so interesting, that it is printed in the Appendix.

† Company's live-stock:—Cattle, 3,231; horses, 307; sheep, 24,558; cattle, 38,012. This information is taken from tables published in the large edition of Martin's *British Colonies*. The

From the statistics of the period, it would seem that, in round numbers, the revenue ranged from £14,000 to £17,000 per annum, and that the expenditure reached the very disproportionate sum of upwards of £50,000* a year. All trade was in the hands of the Company, whose sales of European manufactures averaged 100,000 florins, or £8,340 a year, at a time when the total value of imports was £16,680 annually. Rather more than 6,000 leaguers of wine were made, and of these about 1,500 were sold to the ships, and 120 (of Constantia) sent to Holland. 175,000 muids of wheat were produced in the year, of which 20,000 were sent to Batavia, and 5,000 retained by the Company. The entire value of the crops of the Colony was £100,000 per annum. The taxes were mostly paid in kind, and consisted principally of tithes on produce. From wheat 15,104 guilders, or £1,253, and 25,000 muids were obtained. On barley a tenth was paid,

sources of revenue in Cape Town were, in 1773, according to the same authority—

Sale of wine	f29,600
Sale of brandy	32,000
Sale of beer	5,400
Duty on spirits sold to foreigners	9,300
Sale of Cape wine at Rondebosch and False Bay ...	3,300
Sale of wine and brandy at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein	800

Expenditure in 1773 for the Colony :—

Shipping	f184,488
Ordinary rations	78,878
Ordinary expenses	30,902
Extraordinary expenses	3,866
Buildings and repairs	17,783
Fortifications.....	1,155
Company's slaves.....	18,969
Condemnation and confiscation	4,575
Boats	9,615
Pay of shipping	14,169
Salaries on shore	146,497

* Of course this included the large expenditure on the outward and homeward-bound Dutch fleets. 8 florins Cape currency were equal to 6·4 Dutch. Governor Tulbagh's salary was 4,200 guilders, or £350 per annum.

amounting in value to £312 13s. 4d. A public sale was held annually of the right to retail wines, and the purchaser became the “pachter,” to whom each farmer was bound to deliver the quantity desired at a fixed rate of twenty-seven rix-dollars per leaguer. The chief pacht generally fetched between £4,000 and £5,000 a year. The “Stellenbosch pacht,” together with the beer and foreign wine duties, scarcely realized £800 a year. From stamps and transfer dues ($2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the purchase amount) upwards of £700 was obtained, and land-rents amounted to about £800 annually. Each ship that came to Table Bay was charged £16 13s. 4d. as anchorage dues, and about the year 1750 the average yearly number of vessels which had to pay was twelve.

At this period there was neither printing-press, post-office, nor education worthy of the name. Three clergymen were considered sufficient for the Colony, as the spiritual necessities of the natives were not thought worthy of attention. At the remote farms bread was a luxury rarely attainable, and although the scattered colonists paid some outward attention to religious worship, we cannot wonder that semi-barbarism soon began to prevail among them, and that its effects were too often perceptible in their conduct towards natives and slaves. There were no bridges, with the exception of two small ones over the Laurens River, near Stellenbosch,* and no roads, except those formed by Nature and the tracks of farmers' wagons. As all trade was in the Company's hands, there was a fair field for neither commercial nor agricultural industry. Numbers of colonists found it advisable to trek into the uncivilized interior, and a spirit of discontent was roused which increased with time, and at last found vent by a rebellion in the Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet divisions.

The very large number of slaves in the Colony, as

* A man named Grimpen built one of these. In return, the Government exempted him and his descendants from the performance of burgher service. Governor Van der Stell built the other as a means of approach to one of his farms.

compared with the inhabitants of European extraction, was the cause of constant anxiety and alarm. Doors had to be securely bolted, and every means of precaution adopted, while the outbreaks of slaves who roamed about in bands were frequent and alarming. Sparrman* states that in 1772, in "broad daylight," he "narrowly escaped being plundered by a troop of slaves, who had some time before run away from their masters, and who were suspected at that time to have their haunts about Table Mountain;" and on another occasion he mentions that, having reached an "elegant house, the property of a private gentleman, there came out a heap of slaves, from sixteen to twenty," who behaved in such a rude manner as to lead him to suspect that they had no better will towards him than to others of a different nation from themselves, "who are accustomed to sell them here, after having, partly by robbery and open violence, and partly in the way of bargain or purchase, got them from their native country, and thus eventually brought them to the grievous evils they then sustained." The ill effects of slavery on public and private morals were clearly perceptible at the Cape, and no religious effort worthy of the name was made to reclaim those unfortunate people from infidelity and vice.

A "baaken," or token of possession, was erected by order of the Company near the mouth of the Zwartkops† in 1754, and it was in the following year that the sad shipwreck of the *Doddington*, English East Indiaman, occurred on a rock‡ forming one of the Bird Islands at the eastern entrance of Algoa Bay. This vessel left England for India on the 23rd of April, 1755, and doubled the Cape

* *Sparrman's Voyages*, vol. i., p. 37.

† Until a few years back, the Dutch East India Company's possessional mark on a stone existed on the sand-hill on the south side of Baaken's River, near Port Elizabeth.

‡ This vessel could not have struck on the "Doddington rock," as in that case she would have gone down immediately, and could not have reached an island upon which, according to the narrative of the survivors, she lay, with the port side out of the water.

of Good Hope on the 5th July. About one in the morning of the 17th of this month, the chief mate was violently awakened from sleep by the shock of the vessel striking, and when he hurriedly rushed upon deck a terrible scene of confusion met his sight; leaden-coloured rocks were perceptible close at hand, and the sea broke with wild fury over the ship, sweeping away the seamen with every wave. The mate, expecting instantly to be carried away, was overwhelmed by a huge breaker, which left him stunned and senseless. Recovering in the morning, he perceived that he had been forcibly attached to a plank by a nail which had forced itself into his shoulder. With the greatest exertion he managed to extricate himself from the wreck and reach the shore, where he found, on a desolate unknown rock, twenty-three wretched-looking survivors, out of 220 souls who had been on board the ill-fated ship.* Having succeeded in finding a box of

* The following affecting incident is narrated in the journal:—
“While searching along the beach they found the body of a female, which was recognized as Mrs. Collett, the wife of the second mate, who was then himself at a little distance; and, knowing the mutual affection which subsisted between the couple, Mr. Jones, the chief mate, engaged Mr. Collett in conversation, and took him to the other side of the island, while his companions dug a grave, to which they committed the body, after reading the burial service from a French Prayer-book which had been washed ashore with the deceased. They found means in a few days to gradually relate to him what they had done, and restore to him the wedding-ring which they had taken from her finger. He received it with great emotion, and afterwards spent many days in raising a monument over her grave.” It appears that, in hopes of finding treasure, which was rumoured to exist on the island, this grave was subsequently opened, and the monument destroyed. Some years ago, Her Majesty’s steamer *Styx*, on her voyage from Port Elizabeth to the Buffalo, having during the night been compelled to let go her anchor in the midst of breakers, was found at daybreak to be lying between the reefs and Bird Island, whence she was fortunately able to steam out. This showed the evident danger to navigation in this neighbourhood, and a lighthouse was consequently erected on the largest island. Relics of the *Doddington* have been recently found, and on Stag Island very ancient-looking anchors, much worn, supposed to have belonged to wrecked Portuguese vessels, have been discovered.

candles, some brandy, one or two casks of fresh water, and a small supply of provisions, as well as some canvas, which served to afford a little shelter from the wind and rain, they exerted themselves to the utmost to build a sloop, thirty feet long by twelve broad, the keel of which was laid down by the carpenter on the 24th of July. In September, a few men succeeded in reaching the mainland, after the boat had been upset and one of their number drowned. The savages at first treated them inhumanly, and took all their clothes, but were afterwards friendly, and gave them food and roots. At last, after seven months' residence on this inclement rock, which they called Bird Island in consequence of the number of sea-fowl which visited it, their sloop, named the *Happy Deliverance*, was successfully launched. After coasting some time, and frequently landing to obtain provisions in exchange for trinkets from the natives, they steered for Delagoa Bay, which they reached on the 20th of May, 1756, and here, fortunately, met an English ship, which took them to India.*

* The *Doddington* contained a quantity of treasure, one box of which, rescued from the wreck, was subsequently found by the officers broken open. It was rumoured that the officers buried a quantity of valuables, including money, on one of the Bird Islands, or at Woody Cape, and a book has been published in Holland, styled "Singular Adventures of Gerrit Cornelis van Bengel, principally at the South-Eastern Coast of the Cape of Good Hope, in the years 1747-1758. Compiled and edited from posthumous papers by Advocate Simon Proot, LL.D. Printed by Van der Post Brothers, Utrecht, 1860." It is related in this work that Van Bengel, corporal in the service of the Dutch East Indian Company, arrived in the Colony by the ship *Veldhoen*, during 1747, and ten years afterwards met with a sailor who had been shipwrecked in the *Doddington*, who not only communicated the particulars of this disaster, but stated that great treasures had been buried by the officers for fear of plunder and mutiny. This seaman further stated that, having on one occasion landed at Woody Cape, he saw bags of money lying behind bushes, under a cliff, but fear of being cut off by the tide forced him to return to his companions before he could secure any of it. Upon hearing all this, Van Bengel, who had saved something out of his pay of twelve guilders per month, petitioned Governor Ryk van Tulbagh to be made a free burgher, and, as he had

During last century small-pox proved a frequent scourge, and, as usual, its ravages were principally confined to the coloured races. In 1755 this disease was peculiarly destructive in Cape Town, and both measles and small-pox were epidemic in 1767. Under the government of Van Tulbagh the foundation of the Town-hall was laid by Barend d'Artoys on the 18th November, 1755; and fortifications were, in the following year, first erected at Muizenberg Pass, a strong position commanding the road from Simon's Bay to Cape Town. Tulbagh did not neglect

to choose a handicraft, stated his wish to be styled a tailor. No sooner, however, had he obtained his *burger privilegie*, than he hid himself in the hold of an outward-bound East Indiaman, named the *Zwaartvisch*, and after encountering a storm, and coasting for a number of days, had the satisfaction of seeing the vessel anchor under the lee of the Bird Islands. Van Bengel visited all the rocky islets of the group, but found such an impenetrable crust of guano on the surface that he had to give up the task of seeking the treasure there. Three of the ship's crew were bribed by two hundred guilders (the savings of ten years) to put him ashore at Woody Cape. The boat upset in the surf, and Van Bengel narrowly escaped with his life, while his companions were drowned. Entering a grotto in a cleft of the rock, which seemed to answer the description of his informant, he searched everywhere for treasure, but only found a rusty cutlass and a portion of an old Dutch blunderbuss. Digging in the ground was equally fruitless, and at last Van Bengel had to console himself for his disappointment by copious draughts from a bottle of Schiedam. After sitting in a reverie for some time, the embers of the fire which he had lit seemed to blaze up, and a large number of men, dressed in sailors' garb, issued from the back of the cavern, who diverted the channel of a small stream, and, digging in its bed, brought up no fewer than a dozen iron chests, which were all opened by one of the party with a ponderous key. Van Bengel approached the treasure, but unfortunately slipped his foot and fell in the midst of the strange visitors, who immediately ran away, leaving the poor adventurer to search in vain for the vast wealth he had beheld. Van Bengel, it is said, journeyed overland to Cape Town, and the extraordinary adventures of the overland journey are narrated in the book from which we have quoted. The whole matter was subsequently laid before Governor Van Tulbagh, who, instead of sending ships to bear away the treasure, ordered the immediate deportation of Van Bengel to Holland, where the poor fellow ultimately became insane, and died in an asylum. The strangest part of the book is Mr. Proot's belief in the existence of the treasure and the occurrence in the

to prosecute discovery, and in furtherance of this object dispatched an expedition, under Hoppe, to the northward, in 1761, and caused a careful report to be prepared by C. Rykvoet, upon the subject of the extensive mines of copper which were known to exist in Namaqualand. It must not be omitted that, in the year just quoted, Mr. Dessin made his munificent bequest, in trust to the Dutch Reformed Church, of nearly 5,000 volumes and several choice paintings, which eventually became the property of the South African Library. English ships had already begun to take a leading part in mercantile enterprise. Commander Anson was followed by Captain Wallis, in the *Dolphin*, in 1768, and we shall soon have to note the remarks on the Colony made by Captain Cook and members of his expedition, who visited the Cape between the year 1771 and 1780.

Governor Ryk van Tulbagh died in 1771, after having ruled for twenty years in such a manner as to secure the esteem and love of all classes of colonists. Although a strict disciplinarian, he was no tyrant; and his just yet compassionate disposition engaged the confidence and love of the people. He was neither a man of great talent nor of extended views; and his sumptuary regulations were framed in strict accordance with the narrow spirit which actuated the Government he served. If he had been less conservative, his memory would not have been so much venerated. Certainly one of the principal causes of this universal respect was the contrast which could be drawn between his conduct and that of other Governors. The author of "*L'Afrique Hollandaise*" compares Tulbagh's conduct with that of Plettenberg, and testifies that "the Cape Colony lost all in losing him. They have not forgotten the last words of this good father. Stretched upon the bed of death, and about to render his pure soul into the hands of God, he said to those who

cave. A drama, named *The Treasure at Woody Cape, or the Days of Ryk van Tulbagh*, founded upon this legend, has been successfully produced at Port Elizabeth.

surrounded him, and who wept bitterly at his approaching death, 'My friends, my children, it is not yet the time for tears. You will have too much occasion for them three or four years hence, when I shall be no more.' '*

Baron Joachim von Plettenberg succeeded Governor Tulbagh in 1771. In the year following, the foundations of a new Hospital, and of the Main Barracks, were laid. Sparrman, the traveller, arrived in 1772; Masson collected plants for the new Botanic Gardens at Kew in that year; and Captain Cook, outward bound, again called in to Table Bay.† This voyager, describing his first visit (April, 1771), thus refers to the Colony‡:—"The only town which the Dutch have built there is, from its situation, called Cape Town, and consists of about one thousand houses, neatly built of brick, and in general whited on the outside; they are, however, covered only with thatch, for the violence of the south-east winds would render any other roof inconvenient and dangerous. The streets are broad and commodious, all crossing each other at right angles. In the principal street there is a canal, on each side of which is planted a row of oaks that have flourished tolerably well, and yield an agreeable shade. There is a canal also in one other part of the town; but the slope in the ground in the course of both is so great that they are furnished with flood-gates or locks, at intervals of little more than fifty yards. A much greater proportion of the inhabitants are Dutch in this place than in Batavia; and as the town is supported principally by entertaining strangers, and supplying them with necessaries, every man, to a certain degree, imitates the manners and customs of the nation with which he is chiefly concerned. The ladies, however, are so faithful to the mode of their

* His body was interred in the centre of the great Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town, and a suitable slab was placed over the grave.

† The King of Madura was, in 1772, confined on Robben Island by order of the Dutch East India Company.

‡ *The Three Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World.* Longman and Co., London, 1821. vol. i., p. 350, *et seq.*

country, that not one of them will stir without a chaud-pied, or chauffet, which is carried by a servant. This practice is the more remarkable, as very few of these chauffets have fire on them. The women in general are very handsome; they have fine clear skins, and a bloom of colour that indicates a purity of constitution and high health. The air is salutary in a high degree. The beef and mutton are excellent, though the cattle and sheep are natives of the country. The fields produce European wheat and barley, and the gardens European vegetables and fruit of all kinds. The vineyards also produce wine of various sorts, but not equal to those of Europe, except the Constantia. The common method in which strangers live here is to lodge and board with some of the inhabitants, many of whose houses are always open for their reception; the rates are from five shillings to two shillings a day, for which all necessaries are found.* Coaches may be hired at four and twenty shillings a day, and horses at six shillings. There are no public entertainments. At the farther end of the High-street the Company have a garden, which is about two-thirds of an English mile long; the whole is divided by walks, which intersect each other at right angles, and are planted with oaks that are clipped into wall hedges, except in the centre walk, where they are suffered to grow to their full size, and afford an agreeable shade, which is the more welcome, as, except the plantations by the sides of the two canals, there is not a single tree that would serve even as a shepherd's bush within many miles of the town. At the further end of the garden is a menagerie, in which there are many birds and beasts that are never seen in Europe." Speaking of the natives, Captain Cook says:—"Within the boundaries of the Dutch settlements there are several nations of these people who very much differ from each other in their customs and manner of life; all, however, are friendly and peaceable,

* The higher officers of Government, not even excepting M. de Seconde, frequently received boarders. Captain Clerke, commander of Captain Cook's consort ship, lodged in the building now used as the South African Bank.

except one clan that is settled to the eastward, which the Dutch call *Boschmen*, and these live entirely by plunder, or rather by theft.* The bay is large, safe, and commodious. Near the town a wharf of wood is run out to a proper distance for the convenience of landing and shipping goods. To this wharf water is conveyed in pipes, and several large boats or hoys are kept by the Company to carry stores and provisions to and from the shipping in the harbour. The bay is defended by a square fort, situated close to the beach on the east side of the town, and by several out-works and batteries; but they are so situated as to be cannonaded by shipping, and are in a manner defenceless against an enemy of any force by land. The garrison consists of eight hundred regular troops, besides militia of the country, in which is comprehended every man able to bear arms. They have contrivances to alarm the whole country by signals, and the militia is then to repair immediately to the town. The French at Mauritius are supplied from this place with salted beef, biscuit, flour, and wine." Speaking of the voyages of that time, Captain Cook says:—"While we lay here (Table Bay) the *Houghton*, Indiaman, sailed for England, who, during her stay in India, lost between thirty and forty men, and when she left the Cape had many in a helpless condition with the scurvy. Other ships suffered in the same proportion who had been little more than twelve months absent from England." Foster, in his account of the second voyage (vol. i., p. 61), says:—"Another great building serves as a hospital for the sailors belonging to the Dutch East India ships, which touch here, and commonly have prodigious numbers of sick on board, on their voyage from Europe to India. . . . It is no uncommon circumstance at the Cape that a ship, on her passage thither

* The following extraordinary statement is made:—"As a defence against these freebooters the other Indians (*sic*) train up bulls, which they place round their towns in the night, and which, upon the approach of either man or beast, will assemble and oppose till they hear the voice of their masters encouraging them to fight, or calling them off.' (Vol. ii., page 361.)

from Europe, loses eighty or a hundred men, and sends between two and three hundred others dangerously ill to the hospital." The vile system of kidnapping for foreign service is animadverted upon.* On the 20th of March, 1776, Captain Cook (second voyage, homeward bound), went on shore, and waited on the Governor, Baron Plettenberg, and other principal officers, who received him with the greatest politeness. While they lay in Table Bay several foreign ships put in and out, bound to and from India, viz., English, French,† Danes, Swedes,

* Thunberg thus describes the manner in which soldiers were often obtained for the Cape of Good Hope and other settlements:—"Kidnappers (*zielverkoopers*), the most detestable members of society, frequently effect the ruin of unwary strangers, by decoying them into their houses and then selling them to be transported. . . . These man-stealers are citizens, who, under the denomination of victuallers, have the privilege to board and lodge strangers for money, and under this cloak perpetrate the most inhuman crimes. . . . They not only keep servants to pick up strangers in the street, but also bribe the carriers to bring strangers to lodge with them, who, as soon as they arrive, are shut up in a room together with a number of others to the amount of a hundred and more, where they are kept upon scanty and wretched food, entered as soldiers upon the Company's books, and at length, when the ships are ready to sail, carried on board. The honest dealer receives two months of their pay, and what is called a bill of transport for 100, 150, or 200 guilders. In the two, three, or four months during which they are shut up at the kidnapper's, they contract the scurvy, a putrid diathesis, and melancholy (which break out soon after they come on board). . . . Many innocent people, often of decent family and in easy circumstances, are trepanned by these man-stealers, and must go as soldiers to the East or West Indies, where they are obliged, by the articles of their agreement, to serve at least five years. . . . The Directors of the East India Company can neither be defended, as not knowing of such scandalous practices that disgraced humanity, nor, indeed, be acquitted of favouring them at times. For as the Company is often in want of men, and does not care to give better pay, they are obliged to overlook the methods used by these infamous traders in human flesh to procure hands."—*Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, between 1770 and 1779 (to the Cape of Good Hope, 1770 to 1773). By Charles Peter Thunberg, M.D. In four volumes. Vol. i., pp., 73-75.

† One of the French ships at anchor in the bay at this time was the *Ajax*, Indiaman, bound to Pondicherry, commanded by Captain Crozet. This officer gave Captain Cook a chart, in which "were delineated not

and three Spanish frigates, two of them going to, and one coming from, Manilla. On the third voyage, outward bound, Captain Cook landed some cattle and sixteen sheep; but in spite of every precaution, dogs got among the latter, killed four, and dispersed the rest. It was about this period that Lieutenant-Governor Hening endeavoured to introduce Spanish sheep; but his endeavours, Captain Cook remarks, were frustrated by the obstinacy of the country people, who held their own breed in greater estimation, on account of their large tails,* of the fat of which they sometimes made more money than of the whole carcase besides. Mr. Anderson, the surgeon of the expedition, who made an excursion into the country, describes Stellenbosch as consisting of more than thirty houses, neat, and with the advantage of a rivulet which runs near, and the shelter of some large oaks, planted at its first settling, forming "what may be called a rural prospect of this desert country." There were some vineyards and orchards about the place. "In the evening we arrived at a farm-house, which is the first in the cultivated tract called the *Pearl*. We had at the same time a view of Drakenstein, the third colony of this country. On the 19th (November), in the afternoon, we went to see a stone of a remarkable size, called by the inhabitants the Tower of Babylon, or the Pearl Diamond.†

only his own discoveries but those of Captain Kerguelen." The two Spanish ships were the first vessels of that nation which had been allowed this privilege. Captain Cook says:—"Myself, the two Mr. Fosters, and Mr. Sparrman took up our abode with Mr. Brand, a gentleman well known to the English by his obliging readiness to serve them."

* Kolbe says these tails weighed from 15 to 20 lbs. (vol. ii., page 65). La Caille says the weight was not more than 5 lbs. or 6 lbs. (page 343).

† This stone is described in a letter from Mr. Anderson to Sir John Pringle, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. lxxxviii., part 1. p. 102. *An Account of Three Journeys from Cape Town into the Southern Parts of Africa in 1772-3-4*, by Mr. Francis Masson, from the Botanical Garden at Kew, gives an interesting description of the country about the Cape. M. De Pages furnishes particulars of a journey near Cape Town in 1773 in his *Voyage vers le Pole du Sud*, pp. 17 to 33.

“In the morning of the 20th, we set out from the Pearl, and, going a different road from that by which we came, passed through a country wholly uncultivated, till we got to the Tyger hills, when some tolerable corn-fields appeared.” The remarks of Dr. Andrew Sparrman, who visited the Cape in 1772, are well worthy of attention, and his *Travels* must always be regarded as a work of great value. He says “that Cape Town is small, about 2,000 paces in length and breadth, including the gardens and orchards by which one side of it is terminated. The streets are broad, but not paved. The houses are handsome, two stories high at the most; the greatest part of them are stuccoed and whitewashed on the outside, but some of them are painted green: this latter colour, which is never seen upon the houses in Sweden, being the favourite colour with the Dutch for their clothes, boats, and ships. A great part of their houses, as well as churches, are covered with a sort of dark-coloured reed, which grows in dry and sandy places. The Company’s gardens, so differently spoken of by Kolben, Byron, and Bougainville, are the largest in the town, being 400 paces broad and 1,000 long, and consisting of various quarters, planted with kale and other kinds of garden stuff for the Governor’s own table, as well as for the use of the Dutch ships and the Hospital. To the south of the town are seen the burial grounds of the Chinese and free Malays who live at the Cape, as well as one belonging to the Dutch, which has a wall round it. But what disgraces the town is a gallows, with racks and other horrid instruments of torture, which the Governor (Van Plettenberg) has lately ordered to be erected in the place of honour. Two other gibbets are erected within sight of the town, viz., one on each side of it.” The military exercises of the militia are thus described:—“On the 11th, the whole burghessy turned out into the field; the coats, as well of the horse as of the foot, were, to be sure, all blue, but of such different shades, that they might as well have been red, purple, and yellow. Their waistcoats, particularly those of the infantry, were brown, blue, and

white—in short, all the colours of the rainbow. A French priest, clothed in black, with red heels to his shoes, stood near me, and could not help expressing to me his amazement at seeing such a parti-coloured equipment. However, this did not hinder them from going through their exercise extremely well, as a great number of them were Europeans, who had served in the last war in Germany, and since that time had been in garrison at the Cape, when, in consequence of having served five years, they had become denizens of the country. Ambitious, therefore, of keeping up their military reputation, and puffed up with pride in consequence of their superiority in point of fortune, they took it into their heads, several years ago, to consider it as a very disgraceful circumstance that they should be obliged to make front against the garrison, which on their side felt themselves so much hurt by the comparison, that the attack became very serious; so that, among other things, they loaded on each side with coat buttons, pieces of money, and the like. Since this accident, both these corps are never exercised at one and the same time.”

According to Sparrman, commerce was at a low ebb, and no efforts were made to improve the means of internal communication. Consequently the circulation of trade was slow. It took a hundred hours of hard driving in a heavy wagon over bad roads to bring timber from Mossel Bay to Cape Town. Mountains literally blocked up a large portion of the interior. All ports except those of Cape Town and Simon's Bay were purposely neglected. Manufactures and agriculture were depressed by a monopolist Government, which regulated prices in the only market—that of Cape Town. The spiritual condition of the heathen and of slaves was viewed with complete apathy. Sparrman says that when he entered into discourse with a Hottentot, the man asserted that he had never before been spoken to about religion, and that he was so stupid as to be unable to comprehend anything concerning it, “nor did he think it was for him to trouble himself with these matters. In other respects his mind was capable enough of being

illuminated; but as the making of proselytes brings the Dutch in neither capital nor interest, this poor soul, with many others of his countrymen, was neglected."* As imported slaves formed a large proportion of the population, great precautions had to be taken to guard against their outbreaks, while very severe punishments were necessarily inflicted on their crimes. It is quite possible that the cases of cruelty to which Sparrman refers were exceptive ones, although it is only reasonable to suppose that crying abuses must prevail under any system of slavery.†

* *Sparrman's Voyages*, vol. i., p. 76. Referring to the strange repugnance which always existed to the baptism of Hottentots or bastards, this writer says:—"I saw two brothers in the vicinity of Hottentots Holland bath, the issue of a Christian man and of a bastard negress of the second or third generation. One of the sons, at this time about thirty years of age, seemed not to be slighted in the company of the Christian farmers, though at that time he had not been baptized. The other, who was the elder brother, in order to get married and settled in life, as he then was, had been obliged to use all his influence, and probably even bribes, to get admitted into the pale of the church by baptism. For my part I cannot comprehend the reason why the divines of the Reformed Church at the Cape are so sparing of a sacrament." Sparrman then proceeds to show that if they thought by this means to diminish the number of unlawful connections, they were mistaken. The refusal of baptism to the heathen, it appears, was common at this time, and the following anecdote on the subject is quoted from *Histoire Philosophique Politique*:—"There was a citizen in Batavia who had often importuned the ministers of his church to baptize his illegitimate child, but in vain; so, at last, informed them that he would hand him over to the Mahometan priests of the Malays, who are not so churlish or so niggardly of salvation. The Christian ministers, however, no sooner saw that preparations were made for circumcision than they hastened by administering the sacrament of baptism to deprive the Mahometans of a soul. And since that time they are said to be less backward."

† Atrocities of a revolting nature were often committed by the slaves. Sparrman says:—"There lived here (at Nana River) a widow, whose husband had several years before met with the dreadful catastrophe of being beheaded by his own slaves. His son, then about 13 or 14 years of age, was obliged to be an eye-witness." (Vol. ii., p. 347.)

C. P. Thunberg, Professor of Botany at Upsal, who visited the Cape in 1772, writes of the country in a similar manner to Sparrman. This author speaks of the slaves being hired out by the month, week, or day, during which term they had to earn for their master a certain fixed sum. As the soldiers of the Company received wretched pay, they were frequently allowed to obtain substitutes (at a cost of four skillings per diem) and earn money by the exercise of a trade. Five years was the general term of their contract of service in the Colony; they were not allowed to marry, and at the expiry of the period mentioned, could either return home or renew the engagement.*

The loss of the ship *Jonge Thomas* occurred in Table Bay during the year 1773, and formed the occasion for the ever memorable heroism of Woltemade. This ship, owned by the Dutch East India Company, and commanded by Captain Barend de la Maire, left the Texel on the 20th October, 1772, bound to Batavia, with a crew of 296 men. After a protracted and tedious voyage, she at last came to anchor in Table Bay on the evening of the 28th March, 1773, reporting 70 deaths, and having on board 41 sick persons, who were at once landed and sent to the hospital. On the 29th of May, the vessel was ready for sea, waiting for a favourable breeze. Two days afterwards, on the morning of the 1st of June (Whit-Monday) a strong north-west gale arose with violent gusts, accompanied by thunder, lightning, hail, and heavy showers of rain. At night, in this storm, the *Jonge Thomas*, having lost all her anchors, was driven on the sands near the shore at Salt River, and on account of her being heavily laden, broke into two parts at about six a.m., when the mainmast went overboard. The surge rose to an enormous height, and Salt River was so swollen as to be almost impassable.

* Thunberg speaks of Rondebosch as "a villa belonging to the Governor." It was in the same year this traveller arrived (1772) that the leases of several farms on the Zwartkops River were cancelled, on account of being outside the colonial boundary. They were, however, re-occupied in 1775.

Scarcely had the ship struck when the most efficacious measures were employed to save as much as possible of the Company's property, though no effort was made to deliver the crew. Thirty soldiers were ordered out, with a lieutenant, from the citadel to the place where the ship lay, in order to keep a strict look-out and to prevent any of the Company's goods from being stolen. A *gibbet* was erected, and an edict issued, declaring that whoever should come near the spot was to be hanged without trial. On this account the compassionate inhabitants, who had gone on horseback to the assistance of the sufferers, were obliged to return without being able to do them the least service; but, on the contrary, witnessed the brutality and want of feeling evinced by persons who did not bestow a thought on their fellow-creatures upon the wreck.

An old man of the name of Woltemade, a German by birth, who was at that time a keeper of beasts at the menagerie or paddock near the garden, had a son in the citadel who was a corporal, and among the first who had been ordered out to Paarden Island, where a guard was to be placed for the preservation of the wrecked goods. This veteran borrowed a horse, and rode out in the morning with a bottle of wine and a loaf of bread for his son's breakfast. He arrived so early that the gibbet had not yet been erected, nor the edict posted up. No sooner had the old man heard the lamentations of the distressed crew than he rode his horse, which was a good swimmer, to the wreck, with a view of saving some of them. He repeated his dangerous trip six times more, bringing each time two men alive on shore, and thus saving in all fourteen persons. The horse was by this time so fatigued, that Woltemade did not think it prudent to venture out again; but the cries and entreaties of the poor wretches on the wreck still increasing, he ventured to take one trip more, which proved so unfortunate that he lost his own life. On this occasion too many rushed upon him at once—some of them catching hold of the horse's tail, and others of the bridle, by which means the horse,

wearied out and too heavily laden, sank down, and all were drowned.

This noble and heroic action shows that a great many lives might have been saved if a strong rope had been fastened by one end to the wreck and by the other to the shore. When the storm and waves had subsided, the wreck was found to lie at so small a distance from the land, that one might almost have leaped from it upon shore.

Thunberg remarks that the vigorous measures taken to preserve the Company's effects were not so efficacious as to prevent certain officials from enriching themselves considerably. "For when whole horse-loads of iron from the wreck could be sold to the smiths in town, it is easy to conceive that their consciences would not stand greatly in their way if they could lay their hands upon portable and valuable commodities." This writer proceeds to say:—"Although the hardest hearts are frequently softened by the uncommonly severe misfortunes of their fellow-creatures, and although great and noble actions have at all times been able to excite the gratitude and benevolence of the public towards the actor, yet, I am sorry to say, I have it not in my power to conclude this melancholy picture with some pleasing trait of generous compassion on the part of the Governor (Baron Van Plettenberg) towards the poor sufferers, and especially towards the drowned hero, or of some noble remuneration to his son. For when, shortly afterwards, this young man solicited the situation of his late father—which was a post of but small emolument, and could neither be considered a recompense, nor envied him by any one—it was refused him and given to another.

"This unfeeling *bon vivant* of a Governor, rich in money but poor in spirit, allowed him, nevertheless, to do what others considered a banishment—to go to Batavia, where he died, before a despatch from the directors of the East India Company in Holland arrived, ordering that the children of Woltemade should, for the sake of their father, be well provided for, that one of their ships should bear his name, and that the story of his achievement should be painted on the stern."

One hundred and forty-nine human beings perished on this occasion. They were lost for want of assistance, which could have been easily afforded. The conduct of the Governor was as disgraceful as that of Woltemade was noble and generous. Sixty-three men only escaped, and among them Jan Jacobz, the second mate, who, with twenty-five of the crew, remained on the stern portion of the wreck until the fury of the gale had abated.*

Contemporary writers do not speak well of His Excellency Baron Van Plettenberg. He was cold-hearted and

* A narrative of this event is given by Sparrman (vol. i., page 107); also in the *Cape Town Mirror* (vol. i., page 148). M. de Pages relates it without giving Woltemade's name, and his version was copied into the *Youths' Monthly Visitor* for 1842. Barrow and other writers refer to the subject, and all authorities agree in substance with the account given in the text, which seems the best and most reliable, and is exactly that furnished by Thunberg. (See also *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. iii., page 246.) The bodies of Woltemade and Capt. De la Maire were cast ashore the day following, when they were conveyed to Cape Town, and then quietly interred. No monument of any description commemorates the greatest public act of heroism ever performed in the Colony. An old oil painting, formerly belonging to Mr. Van der Poel, and now or lately in the possession of Mr. Advocate Hiddingh, Cape Town, depicts the occurrence. Sparrman, writing regarding this shipwreck, says:—"Under the pretence of preventing the people belonging to the ship from being plundered, they were directly put under a guard upon the spot, from that time till the evening, and that without their having taken any refreshment, although they were wet and hungry, and wearied out with the labours of the preceding night. For several days after this they were seen wandering up and down the streets begging clothes and victuals. One of these, indeed, is reported to have met with peculiarly rough treatment. This was a sailor who, in order the better to swim for his life, went off from the wreck almost naked, and, having got safe on shore with his chest, opened it, in order to take out a waistcoat to cover his nakedness; he was, however, not only hindered in so doing by a young chit of an officer, but was obliged to put up with a few strokes of a cane into the bargain, being told at the same time that he was liable to be hanged without delay on one of the newly-erected gibbets, as, directly contrary to the express prohibition of Government, he had presumed to meddle with goods saved from the wreck. The sailor excused himself by saying that it was impossible for him not to be ignorant of the prohibition, and that he could clearly prove himself to be the right owner of the chest by the key of it which, in the sailor fashion, was fastened

selfish. Many of his acts, however, show evidences of ability, and the system under which he ruled, and for which he cannot be held responsible, was quite sufficient to render any Governor unpopular.* There was neither liberty nor pretence of liberty. The contract of conditional freedom made with the original burghers was considered binding upon their children, and the Fiscal gave it as his opinion, on the occasion of the deportation of a citizen to Batavia in 1780, that as no one can transfer any greater right than he himself possesses, and the father had become a burgher under the condition of being forced back into service and deported whenever the Company might deem fit, so, therefore, the son could claim no exemption from such a demand. "I sacredly confess that I cannot discern wherein the fine distinction and high preference of the rights of children above those of parents can reside."† This theory was constantly reduced to practice, and the legal adviser of the Government thus sums up, in an official document, the view of burgher rights which the authorities had always taken:—"It would indeed be a serious error," he says, "if a comparison were attempted to be instituted between the inhabitants of a Colony situated as this is, and the privileged free citizens of our great towns in the United Provinces. It would be mere deception to argue any equality of rights between them. Were it necessary, it would be easy to exhibit the origin of the burghers of our Republic and their privileges, in striking contrast with the origin of the inhabitants of this

to his belt, as well as by a psalm-book, wherein his name was written. Notwithstanding all this, it was with great difficulty that he saved his neck from the gallows. He was forced, however, naked and wet as he was, to wait in the fields till the evening, with no other covering than the sky. Shivering with cold, he at length, through repeated entreaties, got permission to look after his chest, and take what he wanted out of it, but now found it broken open and plundered." (Sparman, vol. i., p. 110.)

* This Governor travelled to the Zeekoe River, and erected a baaken within a few miles of the place in which the present town of Colesberg is built. This was in 1778. The travellers Paterson and Col. Gordon had visited the Orange River a year or two previously.

† *Verantwoording van W. C. Boers, Independent Fiscal*, pp. 44, et seq.

Colony and their claims. But it would be a mere waste of words to dwell on the remarkable distinction to be drawn between burghers whose ancestors nobly fought for and conquered their freedom from tyranny, and from whose fortitude in the cause of liberty the very power of our Republic has sprung, and such as are named burghers here, who have been permitted as matter of grace to have a residence in a land of which possession has been taken by the sovereign power, there to gain a livelihood as tillers of the earth, tailors, and shoemakers. Here comparison is impossible. . . . The burghers, whose number is at present far too great, and whom, on this account, it will soon be found very difficult to restrain and govern with a due regard to the preservation of the interests of the State and the Honourable Company, desire to be allowed a right of trading beyond the Colony. . . . The object of paramount importance in legislation for colonies should be the welfare of the parent State. No great penetration is needed to see plainly the impossibility of granting such a petition. The dangerous consequences which would result to the State in general, and in particular to the Honourable Company, from the concession to a Colony situated midway between Europe and the Indies of free commerce, are manifest. It would soon be no longer a subordinate Colony, but an independent State.* Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the narrative of Dutch rule should be a history of disaffection, sometimes varied by rebellion, and that many of the restless spirits who could not brook subjection fled to the uncivilized

* *Verantwoording van Fiscaal Boers, at supra.* The following grant shows what constituted burgher privileges in 1780 :—

“Joachim van Plettenberg, Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, greeting: Whereas Johan Hendrik Gans, of Lippolsberg, who arrived here in the year 1770, with the ship *Veldhoen*, as soldier, at the pay of nine guilders per month, hath by petition particularly requested of us to be discharged from the service of the Honourable Company, and to be appointed (*aangesteld*) as burgher, having duly served the Honourable Company. Wherefore we graciously grant his request to earn his livelihood here or elsewhere within the Colony, with his handicraft of a tailor; but that he shall not be allowed to abandon

interior. A pastoral life became the only refuge for the enterprising and for the disaffected. In the extensive tracts of country to the north and east of Swellendam they found a home where the rule of the Government was only nominal, and where civilization, placats, and proclamations could not penetrate. Injunctions that they should not wander beyond certain limits,* and platitudes regarding the duty of humanity to the natives, were issued occasionally from Cape Town, but were as little heeded as if never heard. A tide of migration commenced to flow before the beginning of the eighteenth century, and scattered farmers by degrees began to people the country afterwards formed into the divisions of Uitenhage and Graaff-Reinet. There they were as untrammelled and free as their brethren of the Cape were bound and subject. The former were at liberty to hunt down their enemies and commit any and every act which passion and license dictated—the latter were so cramped, fettered, and discontented that they were ready to hail with pleasure any change which would release them from the rule of the Company. The long-smouldering sparks of burgher discontent at last burst into a flame, and, in 1779, lists of accusations against the Government, together with prayers for redress of grievances, were forwarded to Holland.

the same, or to adopt any other mode of living, unless he shall first have obtained special permission thereto from this Council, and that he shall not petition for any grant of ground from the Honourable Company, which specially reserved the right and power at any time when it may be deemed necessary, or whenever his conduct shall not be proper, to take him back into service in his old capacity and pay, and to transport him hence, if thought fit; further submitting him to all such placats as have already, or may in future, be enacted regarding freemen. Done at the Castle of Good Hope, 5th September, 1780.—
J. VAN PLETTERBERG. O. M. BERGH, Secretary."

* Van Plettenberg proclaimed the Sneeuwbergen the boundary of the Colony in 1780, and expressed an earnest desire that no extension should take place. In the year 1844, Mr. James Howell wrote to a Colonial newspaper that, on a shooting excursion about twenty miles from Colesberg, in the direction of the Seacow River, he stumbled over a baaken on which was inscribed "L. vn Plette, 798."

CHAPTER VIII.

Importance of the Cape—Commodore Johnstone sent with an English Fleet to Capture the Cape—Engagement with Suffren—Le Vaillant's Description of the Capture of Dutch Vessels-of-War in Saldanha Bay—Travels of Le Vaillant—His Description of the Colony—Natives—Slavery—Paper Currency—Amsterdam Battery—Governor Van Plettenberg—Loss of the East Indiaman *Grosvenor*—Sufferings of the Survivors—History of the Bushman War waged between these Natives and the Dutch Farmers—Statistics.

AFTER the middle of the eighteenth century, the English saw the advantage to their new Empire in the East which would accrue from the capture of the Cape. But the French were equally alive to the importance of this possession, and one of their Admirals declared it to be his opinion that, in any contest between two European powers in the East, that one of them which owned the Cape of Good Hope and the Bay of Trincomalee would necessarily be victorious.

In the year 1780, a small squadron under the command of Commodore Johnstone, dispatched from England to take the Cape, was met at St. Jago by a French fleet under Admiral Suffren, and was so damaged in the fight that ensued as to be disabled from effecting the object of the expedition. Suffren lost no time in proceeding to Table Bay and putting the place in a good state of defence, while Johnstone succeeded in the capture and destruction of several Dutch vessels in Saldanha Bay. The latter event is described by Le Vaillant, who was in the Colony at the time. In August, 1781, the ship *Hell Woltemade*, in which this traveller had been a passenger, was sailing out of Simon's Bay when perceived by Commodore Johnstone, who immediately bore down, and learnt from her crew that several Dutch vessels were lying inside. The English then hoisted French colours, and sailed into False Bay, and by this manœuvre at first deceived the enemy. Dissimulation was, however, unnecessary, as the British force was overwhelming. So when one of their cutters hoisted the

English flag, and a broadside was fired, the Dutch immediately cut their cables and ran aground. Disorder and confusion prevailed, and the abandoned ships were left to be plundered, while their seamen made the best of their way over the sands to Cape Town. The British were cannonading the shore and endeavouring to make as many prisoners as possible, when they were startled by a terrific explosion, and beheld the *Middelburgh* blow up, covering the sea with flaming fragments. It appeared subsequently that the captain of this ship (Vangenep) was the only one who had obeyed the strict orders which had been given, that if attacked beyond the power of defence the commanders were to fire their ships, which previously were to be unrigged and the cordage, sails, &c., put on board a *hoeker* to be anchored as far up the bay and as close in shore as possible. The latter part of these instructions had been obeyed; but for disobedience to the command that the ships should be destroyed every captain (excepting Vangenep) was dismissed the service. The commander of the *hoeker* acted with incredible cowardice and rashness, for, not content with flying precipitately from his vessel on the approach of the English cutter, he made no attempt to fire her before leaving, and, upon landing, burned an elegant habitation at the end of the bay in a place where the water was so shallow that even shallows could not land.*

The travels of Le Vaillant attracted more attention than they deserved, and his book has long ago been proved to be untrustworthy and inaccurate. He describes Cape Town as possessing wide though not commodious streets; "the houses, almost all built uniform, are spacious and handsome, the tops covered with reed, as heavier roofs might occasion accidents during the high winds. The inside contains no frivolous luxuries; the furniture is simple, yet neat and handsome; they use no hangings; pictures and looking-glasses are the principal

* Le Vaillant says that he was afterwards prosecuted by the proprietor, Le Sieur Heufde, for damages, who expected to recover the whole amount of the loss.

ornaments. On entering the town by the way of the Castle, the eye is presented with a number of elegant buildings. On one side, the whole length of the gardens belonging to the Company; on the other, the fountains, whose waters descend from Table Mountain by a channel, which may be seen from the town and every part of the roads.”* With regard to the slaves, this writer remarks: “The negroes of Mozambique and Madagascar are regarded as the best workmen, and most affectionate to their masters. The Indians are more employed in household work in the town. There are also Malaysians, who are the most subtle and dangerous of slaves. Assassinating their master or mistress is with them a common crime. During the five years I passed in Africa, I saw many instances of it. They go to execution with the greatest indifference. I heard one of these wretches say to Mr. Boers he was

* Speaking of the inhabitants. Le Vaillant says: “In general the men appeared well made, the women charming. I was surprised to see the style in which they dressed—with all the minuteness and elegance of the French ladies: but they have neither their air nor grace. As it is ever the slaves who suckle the children, a familiarity ensues that is highly prejudicial to their future manners and education; the latter in men seems, in general, still more neglected, if we except those who are sent to Europe for that purpose, there being no masters at the Cape but those who teach writing. The women in general play on the harpsichord; they likewise love singing, and are distractedly fond of dancing, so that a week seldom passes without their having several balls; the officers belonging to the ships in the road frequently procure them this amusement. At my arrival, the Governor had a custom of giving a public ball once a month, and the people of distinction in the town followed his example. In a Colony where so many strangers are continually arriving, I was astonished to find neither coffee-house nor tavern: but the truth is every private house answers that purpose. The usual price for board and lodging is a piastre a day (four and sixpence English), which is sufficiently dear if we consider the scarcity of money in this country. While I was there, butchers’ meat was very cheap. I have seen thirteen pounds of mutton bought for an escalin (elevenpence English); an ox for 12 or 15 rixdollars. . . . The most cruel and dangerous disease at this place is the sore throat. The small-pox is another scourge to these Colonies. . . . Strangers are generally well received at the Cape, but the English are adored there.” (*Travels by Le Vaillant*, vol. i., p. 19, *et seq.*)

glad he had committed the crime—that he well knew the death attending the commission of it, which he ardently wished for, as it would return him to his native country. The creole slaves at the Cape are most esteemed ; they are sold at double the price of the others, and if they know any business their price is exorbitant. A cook will sell from eight to twelve hundred rix-dollars, and others in proportion to their talents. A stranger is surprised, on his arrival at the Cape, to see a multitude of slaves as white as Europeans. One circumstance that causes depravity among the slaves, and will ever vitiate their morals, is that the Government of Batavia frequently send their disorderly slaves to the Cape. These people are generally Malaysians, all thieves, or receivers ; for the last article their reputation is so established that their habitations are first searched when a slave is missing, or any property lost. It is very uncommon for a master to punish a slave himself. He generally puts him into the hands of the Fiscal, who orders him the necessary correction. If a master correct his slave unmercifully, the latter may complain to the Fiscal, who will oblige the master to sell him ; or in case of wounds or death, he is in danger of corporal punishment, or banishment to the Isle of Roben.”*

The remarks of Le Vaillant concerning the natives† are for the most part written in an exaggerated and prejudiced

* Le Vaillant says that “ this island takes its name from the number of marine dogs that are found there. It is the place of banishment from the Cape, and is under the command of a corporal, who has the title of commander. The unhappy exiles are each day to deliver a certain quantity of limestone, which they dig. In spare time they fish or cultivate their small gardens, which procures them tobacco and some other little indulgences.” (Vol. i., p. 103.) “ The Government sends every year a detachment into the Isle of Roben to shoot penguins, from which they extract great quantities of oil.” (Vol. i., p. 106.)

† Le Vaillant thus refers to some of the native customs. The Hottentots, “ in dancing, form themselves into a ring by taking hold of each other’s hands. The women and men are in equal number, and stand alternately. This chain formed, they turn different ways ; at intervals they clap their hands all together, without any interruption to the cadence. Their voices unite with the sound of their instruments, often repeating ‘ Hoo ! Hoo ! ’ which is the general cadence. Some-

tone, and his absurd observation that, "in a state of nature man is essentially good; why should the Hottentot be an exception to this rule?" is almost surpassed by ridiculous excuses for the cruelties and atrocities committed by

times one of the dancers, quitting the extremity of the circle, places himself in the centre, where he begins a dance which bears some resemblance to an English hornpipe: the whole merit consisting in its being executed with rapidity and decision, without stirring from the spot. During the entire dance the performers make a kind of monotonous humming. The musical instruments, which for their supposed excellence, are most admired here are the *goura*, or *journ-journ* (of the form of the Hottentot bow, and about the same size), the *rabouquin*, and the *romelpot*. The *rabouquin* is a triangular piece of wood, on which are extended three strings, fastened to pegs that can be tightened or slackened at pleasure, in the manner of our European instruments—it is, indeed, a guitar. The *romelpot* is the most noisy of all their instruments. It is made of the hollowed trunk of a tree, from two to three feet high; over one end they extend the skin of a sheep, well tanned, which they beat with their hands, or rather with their fists, and sometimes with a stick." Le Vaillant does not believe that either religion or superstition existed among the Hottentots, and defends their character from various aspersions cast on it by previous writers. This author, however, is, according to Sir John Barrow, by no means a reliable authority, and his undue partiality for the natives is constantly apparent. Each South African traveller in his turn, however, appears to impugn the testimony of the others. Le Vaillant contradicts Kolben and Sparrman, while Barrow ridicules Le Vaillant. The following remarks of Sparrman regarding the smoking customs of the Bushmen are worth noting:—"An elk's horn, from a foot and a half to two feet in length, forms a pipe, in the aperture of which, about two inches in diameter, the Bushman contrives to squeeze the whole of his mouth in such a manner that none of the smoke can escape or be lost, but passes entire in a column proportioned to the size of his horn into his throat, some part of it coming up again through his nostrils. Five or six gulps content him. He then hands the horn to his next neighbour. One of the Bushmen once swallowed the smoke with such avidity that I saw him fall down in a swoon in consequence." Card-playing.—"I had, the evening after my arrival there, an opportunity of seeing their card-playing. By this absurd name the colonists have distinguished the following peculiar game among these people, which was played in this manner. Both of my Hottentots, together with two others, made a *partie quarrée*, sitting on their hams. The chimney—the part of a room constantly preferred by a Hottentot to any other—was likewise, in this case, the place they chose to occupy for playing this game; and the ash-hole might not inaptly be considered

savages.* There can be no doubt, however, that animadversions upon the commando system were justified, and that a virtual attempt to extirpate the Bushmen was made by the boers towards the end of the present century.† However highly coloured the pictures of Le Vaillant, Sparrman, and Thunberg may be, the main features are decidedly correct. The Dutch East India Company was unable to defend its most valuable colonial possessions, and the nominal Government at the Cape could neither prevent outrages on the natives nor secure the fidelity of

as their card-table. Now, as this sport seemed to consist in an incessant motion of the arms upwards, downwards, and across each other's arms, without ever seeming (at least on purpose) to touch one another, it appears to me that the intention of this sport is to open the chest, as it were, while sitting, by way of succedaneum for dancing. It is probable, however, that with all this they observe certain rules, and, in certain circumstances, mutually get the advantage over each other, as each of them at times would hold a little peg between his forefinger and thumb, at which they would burst out into laughter, and, on being asked the reason, said that they lost and won by turns, yet without playing for anything." (See Sparrman, vol. i., p. 231, *et seq.*)

* See Vol. 2, p. 149. He admits that the Hottentots often abandon their old people and sick without pity, and then endeavours to excuse this conduct. (Vol. ii. p. 113.)

† "A colonist," Le Vaillant says, "who lives two hundred leagues up the country arrives at the Cape to complain that the Hottentots have taken all his cattle, and entreats a commando, which is a permission to go with the help of his neighbours and retake his property; the Governor, who either does not or feigns not to understand the trick, adheres strictly to the facts expressed in the petition—the fatal word is written, which proves a sentence of death to a thousand poor savages, who have no such defence or resources as their persecutors. Thus the monster (regardless of religion), having completed his business at the Cape, returns with an inhuman joy to his villainous accomplices, and extends his commando as far as his interest requires. The massacre this occasions is but the signal for other butcheries, for should the Hottentots have the audacity to attempt regaining any part of their lost herds, the confusion recommences, and only ceases when there are no more victims or no more plunder. This perpetual war, or rather robbery, continued during the whole time of my stay in Africa. At present the Government have more than one means to prevent these misfortunes; but it is certainly time to employ those means, as dangers ever increase by delay. I have before observed that the bare

the white population. So dissatisfied were the citizens, and so weak and powerless were the rulers, that the author of *L'Afrique Hollandaise** does not hesitate to assert that had Commodore Johnstone arrived at the Cape one day earlier than Suffren, he would have made himself master of the Settlement without difficulty. Not only would he have met with feeble resistance on the part of a weak and unprepared garrison, but the colonists themselves, though well trained and capable of rendering aid, would have openly refused to take up arms, or, if they had fought, would not have used their weapons against the English. The presence of a large French force alone prevented the colonists from imitating the conduct of the Americans, and declaring themselves independent of the mother country.

In the year 1782, Governor Van Plettenberg deemed it advisable to issue a paper currency, and notes for as low an amount as two stivers ($4\frac{1}{2}$ d.) were put in circulation. This dangerous system had the effect of bringing in money to the Treasury, but was completely indefensible as a financial expedient,† and led to embarrassments which the British Government had subsequently to remedy.

issuing a precept is of no effect ; this the following instance will plainly verify :—A Governor, being informed of some cruel vexations practised against the savages, summoned the author to the Cape, to render an account of his conduct ; the culprit did not even deign to answer the order, but continued harassing and pillaging in his usual manner, and his disobedience was overlooked and forgotten. One day I was speaking of these abuses to some colonists, who told me that several of them had received similar mandates from the Governor, to which they paid no attention. I answered, I was amazed, then, that the Governor did not accompany his orders with a detachment, and, in case of refusal, conduct the culprit under a good escort to town. ‘Do you know,’ said one of them, ‘what would be the result of such an attempt?’ We should instantly assemble and kill half the soldiers, whom we would salt and send back by those we had spared, with promises to do as much for others that came on the same errand.’”

* P. 279. This work is better known translated into Dutch under the title of *Nederlandsch Afrika*.

† One of Governor Van Plettenberg's proclamations refers to forged notes in circulation.

Amsterdam Battery was built in 1781,* and during the preceding year military lines had been constructed from Fort Knokke to Zonnebloem by the French soldiers employed in Admiral Suffren's fleet, while the interest of France in the Colony was shortly afterwards further shown by the garrison at Cape Town being strengthened with a detachment of troops from that country. The Lutherans numbered many adherents at the Cape, and at first were not permitted the free exercise of their religion. Martin Melck, the founder of their church in Strand-street, Cape Town, died in 1781, and the first pastor who officiated in it was Andrew L. Kolver, who arrived during the preceding year.

The wreck of the East Indiaman *Grosvenor* took place on the coast of Kaffraria, above the St. John's River, on the 4th of August, 1782. The greater portion of the crew and all the passengers succeeded in reaching the shore, and endeavoured to travel overland to the Colony. Only a small number, however, reached Cape Town. A narrative, compiled from the testimony of one of the survivors, states that soon after they landed a party of the natives met them, about thirty in number, whose hair was made up in the form of sugar-loaves, and their faces painted red. Among them was a man who spoke Dutch; his name, as they afterwards learnt, was Trout. Having committed some murders among his countrymen, he had fled to these parts for refuge and concealment. When he came up to the English, he inquired who they were, and whither they were going; and on being told that they were English, had been cast away, and were endeavouring to reach the Cape of Good Hope, he informed them that their intended journey would be attended with unspeakable difficulties. The wretched cast-aways determined at all hazards to make an attempt to reach the Cape, and pushed forward along the coast. Many died on the way, and one poor child, named Law, who had borne stoutly all privations, was at last

* Several buildings in the Castle were rebuilt in 1782.

compelled to succumb when he had travelled so far as some miles to the westward of Sundays River. As this boy was beloved by all, his death proved a great source of affliction, and Lilburne, the steward, who had taken particular care of him, was nearly overwhelmed, and the next day "followed this little favourite into another world." Shortly afterwards, near the Zwartkops River, the remainder of the party met colonial settlers,* and were thence assisted on their journey to Cape Town, where the Governor received them with great kindness, and immediately dispatched an expedition in search of those left behind. The party thus sent out rescued seven Lascars, two native women, and three of the white crew. As it seemed possible that the women might have been detained by the Kafirs, the Colonial Government, some years afterwards (in 1790), fitted out an expedition to proceed to the wreck. The journal of Mr. Jacob van Reenen, one of their number, has been published by Captain Riou,† and not only contains interesting information relative to the country through which they passed, but some curious particulars concerning the supposed descendants of Europeans who had been shipwrecked on the Kaffrarian coast. It is stated that, on November 3rd, 1790, they arrived on a height, whence they saw several villages of the Hambonaas, who were quite different from the Kafirs, having a yellowish complexion, and long coarse hair frizzed on their head like a turban. A present of beads and a sheet of copper was sent to their chief, and five of them came, to whom small presents were given. They told the Europeans that a village of *Bastaard* Christians were subject to them, whose inhabitants were descended from people shipwrecked on that coast, and of which three old women were still living, whom Semtonoue, the Hambonaa captain, had taken as his wives. In the diary of the return journey it is stated that on Friday,

* The survivors went to the hospitable mansion of Mr. Korsten, at Cradock's Place, three miles from Port Elizabeth, and there were kindly entertained and assisted.

† See also *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 15.

26th November, 1790, they passed the Great and Little Mogasie Rivers, and after travelling eight hours, arrived at the bastard Christian village. Van Reenen says:—"I would now have taken the three old women with us, to which they seemed well inclined, as appearing much to wish to live amongst Christians; but mentioned their desire, before they could accomplish such a plan, of waiting till their harvest to gather in their crops, adding that for this reason they would at present rather remain with their children and grandchildren, after which, with their whole race, to the number of four hundred, they would be happy to depart from their present settlement. I concluded by promising that I would give a full account of them to the Government of the Cape, in order that they might be removed from their present situation. It is to be observed that on our visit to these women, they appeared to be exceedingly agitated at seeing people of their own complexion and description." At the conclusion of his journal, the writer adds:—"This expedition was planned by me, with the previous knowledge of the Governor Van der Graaff. It was undertaken with the view of discovering if there still remained alive any of the English women, as had been reported, that were shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*. But, to our sorrow, we could find no soul remaining, and we are fully persuaded that not one of the unfortunate crew is now alive. I was informed by a Malay or Boganese slave, who spoke Dutch, and had some years before ran away from the Cape, that two years ago the cook of that ship was alive, but, catching the small-pox, he then died." A study of this journal, and of the narrative of the survivors, does not, however, by any means prove that survivors of the passengers and crew might not have been living in Kafirland when Van Reenen's party were prosecuting their search along the coast. Indeed, it has been positively stated (in *Chambers's Repository of Tracts*) that T'Slambie's widow, Nonube, who possessed considerable influence with her tribe, was "the granddaughter of Miss Campbell, one of the three unfortunate daughters of General Campbell, who was

wrecked in the *Grosvenor*, East Indiaman, on the east coast of Africa during the last century, and compelled all three of them to become the wives of Kafirs." As according to the list of passengers there were no ladies named Campbell on board, it would seem that this statement must be incorrect.*

It is now necessary to furnish a *resumé* of what may be styled the Bushmen war, waged with intense persistency during the last thirty years of the eighteenth century.

Previous to the year 1770 continued complaints had been made to Government regarding thefts and atrocities committed by Bushmen, and at last the Administration entered warmly into the contests against them, and three commandos were ordered to be raised. The instructions given to field-cornets, who commanded the burghers within their respective jurisdictions, were to scour the neighbouring country, shoot the Bushmen, and divide the women and children among the members of the expeditions. It is recorded that, in the month of September, 1774, no fewer than ninety-six Bushmen were shot within eight days by the forces under the orders of Van Wyk. Commander Marais states, in a report to the Colonial Office, that he had taken one hundred and eighteen prisoners; and a third commando, under Van der Merwe,

* Nonube had a bare trace of European blood in her. Faku has been supposed to be the grandson of a white woman who was wrecked on the Kafir coast. A full account of the loss of the *Grosvenor* is published in the *Armenian Magazine* for 1797, vol. 20. A translation of Van Reenen's Diary may be consulted in the *Cape Monthly Magazine*, vol. vi. In *The Mission, or Scenes in South Africa*, by Captain Marryat, the loss of the *Grosvenor* is alluded to. An account of the shipwreck was given by Price, Lewis, Warmington, and Larcy, the first party of the shipwrecked crew who reached England. The Rev. S. Kay (*Researches in Kaffraria*, pp. 353 to 362) obtained from a Kafir Chief, named Daapa, an interesting account of his *white* mother, who was one of the three old women discovered by Van Reenen. Her hair, they said, was at first long and black, but before she died it became quite white. To one of her children, who was alive in 1830, the name of *Bess* had been given. One of the daughters of Bess married Dushani, the eldest son of the celebrated T'Slambie.

killed 142 Bushmen within the Bokkeveld. This last-named officer concluded a peace with the natives, at which the Government were so displeased that the field-cornets who concurred with him in making it were all degraded from office. The war was continued from this period, and commandos regularly sent out ; one of these, dispatched under Van Jarsveld in August, 1775, killed no fewer than 122 Bushmen.* Shortly after this, seven Bushmen, although they at first undertook to lead the Dutch to the caverns in which their countrymen lay hid, fell down on the way and refused to fulfil their agreement, and were forthwith slain. Subsequently, these native fastnesses were discovered, when forty-three Bushmen were killed, and seven children made captive. In spite of numerous commandos, the number of Bushmen became so great near the Sneeuwberg that many farmers had to leave that neighbourhood for Brintjes Hoogte. An application for

* To convey an idea of how these commandos were conducted, the following extracts from the Landdrost of Stellenbosch (Van Jarsveld's) journal are subjoined :—"August 4th, 1775.—We proceeded in a north-east direction to the upper end of the Seacow River, when we met unawares one of these cattle plunderers, and also saw a great many of these thieves at a distance. In order to create no suspicion in the mind of the thief whom we had caught, we behaved peaceably to him, in order to get the other thieves in our power. Wherefore, it was thought good by everyone in the commando to inform this Bushman that we came as friends, and were only journeying to the above-mentioned river to kill seacows. We gave him a pipe and tobacco, and sent him to his companions to offer them our peace. 7th.—Sixteen Bushmen came to us at Rondekop from the mountains to the south, when we killed some more seacows, to entice the thieves with their flesh. 10th.—I dispatched the same evening some spies to Blaauwbank to learn whether the Bushmen were not with the seacows. About midnight the spies returned, saying they had seen a great number of Bushmen there, when I immediately repaired thither with the commando, waiting till daybreak, which soon appeared ; and having divided the commando into parties, we slew the thieves, and, on searching, found one hundred and twenty-two dead ; five escaped by crossing the river. After counting the slain, we examined their goods, to see whether anything could be found whereby it might be ascertained that they were plunderers, when ox-hides and horns were found, which they were carrying with them for daily use."

assistance, signed by twenty-six colonists, had the effect of causing renewed orders to be issued for the destruction of the proscribed race, and an active war was constantly carried on against them. In March, 1779, the Landdrost of Stellenbosch ordered several field-cornets to form their men into a joint corps, one-half of which was to be in the field each alternate month. This system was carried on for several years; but in 1785 more effective measures were thought necessary, in consequence of a report from Commandant De Villiers, that unless these were adopted, cattle would soon become scarce. This officer at the same time recommended to Government the propriety of making a grant of land, between Plattenberg's baaken and Zak River, to those who should be most zealous in prosecuting the war against the Bushmen. In 1787, a very strong commando, divided into five parties, was sent out by the Landdrost and Military Court of Graaff-Reinet, with orders to "destroy at once that pernicious nation;" and a message to the Landdrost and District Court of Stellenbosch requested them to co-operate in carrying out this object. A petition signed by the inhabitants of the Hantam district having been forwarded to Government in 1791, praying that a strong commando might be formed in conjunction with the Commandant Nel, to attack the Bushmen, orders were given accordingly. In 1792, an expedition under the command of Van der Walt scoured the country which lies between Tulbagh district and Zak River. From the report forwarded to Government, it would appear that 158 Bushmen were killed and fifty-one prisoners secured, while 274 sheep, thirteen cattle, and one musket were captured. It is worthy of notice that an understanding seems to have been entered into between Van der Walt and the Government, by which it was agreed that he should obtain the Nieuweveld in reward for his services against the Bushmen. He was authorized to order out armed men whenever he saw any of the enemy, and at last so abused this privilege that farmers in the districts of Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet requested to be informed whether the power he exercised had

been delegated to him. The reply was that there was no intention of permitting Van der Walt to raise strong commandos without the consent of Government, but that the privilege of ordering out a few armed men in case of necessity had certainly been conferred. Field-cornet Wm. Burger distinguished himself in the field during 1793, and in 1795 operations against the enemy were still carried on so extensively that entries appear of field-cornets drawing as much as 200 lbs. of gunpowder and 400 lbs. of lead at a time. It would be tiresome and uninteresting (if even the limits of this work would permit) to detail the operations of the various commandos.

The Bushmen were unmistakeably a nation of thieves, and most of them appear to have entirely subsisted on the produce of their predatory incursions. A farmer's wealth, and indeed only means of existence, was his oxen and sheep, and it is not to be wondered at that constant attempts to deprive him of these should be visited with terrible vengeance. The Bushmen of course excused all attacks upon the Europeans on the ground of retaliation for having been dispossessed of their lands. So early as 1772, Thunberg saw 950 men, women, and children of the Bushman nation imprisoned in Cape Town. These people had concealed themselves in a mountain kloof and defended it unsuccessfully against a large party of boers and soldiers. *They asserted that they had been forced to attack the colonists by reason of the Europeans making, every year, fresh encroachments upon their lands and possessions.**

As regards the nature and disposition of the Bushmen there is a conflict of evidence, for while on the one hand they are represented as incorrigible savages, whom no kindness could reclaim, we find on the other hand testimony in favour of the good results which might be hoped from the adoption of conciliatory measures.* The reports published in the Colonial Records certainly show that wholesale thefts by Bushmen

* *Thunberg's Travels*, vol. i., p. 192.

continually exasperated the farmers. In May, 1775, Commandant Opperman reports that from "the constant depredations of the Bushmen, it is almost impossible for the people to dwell in the Sneeuwberg." They not only stole, but killed for the mere purpose of destruction. H. M. van der Berg reports to Commandant Opperman, on 11th April, 1776 :—"This is to inform you that the Bushmen have again stolen at Jacob Naude's. They have stabbed sheep dead, and also taken away, how many is not known." It is stated in the records of the Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch, under date 6th May, 1777, "it was therefore unanimously resolved to transmit to the Hon. Governor and Council authentic copies of the said two petitions, seconded by a humble request in favour of the petitioners, in particular the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg and Cambedoo, and in general the other districts under their Magistracy, that Government may not only grant for their relief a good quantity of gunpowder, lead, and flints, wherewith they may as much as possible oppose and check the further encroachment of the said unpeaceable (*vredeleose*) and rapacious Bushmen tribe, who otherwise are likely soon to break through into the nearer and more important districts; but also seeing that the last

* "During the war with the Bushmen, Van Reenen went towards them unarmed, gave them presents, and brought them to his house. Next day, seeing some Bushmen coming, Van Reenen said he wished to see them all, when, on their making a sign, a great number of them came, among whom he divided all the trinkets in his possession, and, showing them the empty box, promised that as long as they kept the peace they should have presents, which had the good effect that they never did any injury to Van Reenen's cattle." In 1823, this Mr. Van Reenen said :—"The Bushmen were the best and most peaceful people, but that they were not only robbed of their lands by the boers, but intentionally provoked; and at this moment he would still trust himself in the midst of them, in the assurance that some of them would recognize him, and prevent any injury being done to them." It is added, "I recollect that Mr. Van Reenen also said that he had taken pains to remonstrate with Government against the hostile measures taken against the Bushmen: and that his opinion was that Government had acted on a wrong system of policy; of this, however, I can find no notes."—See *Moodie's Records*, 1777, p. 65.

ammunition granted, namely, 400 lbs. of powder and 800 lbs. of lead, when divided among thirteen field-sergeants, was altogether insufficient considering the rapid expenditure by commandos in checking the depredations, and that we were thus obliged to suffer the inhabitants to be almost devoid of the means of defence, that the Government may be graciously pleased now to grant us 1,500 lbs. gunpowder, 3,000 lbs. lead, and 3,000 flints." On June 5th, 1777, this letter was considered in the Council, and it was then resolved that, as "all amicable means of bringing the rapacious Bosjesmans Hottentots to a state of quiet had been tried in vain, to attack them by stronger commandos, and root them out in that way—all possible care to be taken that no kind of cruelty be exercised towards the wounded or prisoners,* or the women and children." In 1777, according to the Records, people had fled from the Sneeuwberg, and were no longer safe in the Camdeboo; while, in spite of the commandos which "had been continually sent out against these savage robbers, the inhabitants were robbed of almost all their cattle, and thus reduced to the *greatest poverty*." In a letter dated the 23rd March, 1779, from the Governor and Council to the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch, it is remarked that as the inhabitants of the "so-called Sneeuwbergen" had been compelled to abandon their dwellings, and it was found hardly possible to resist Bushmen incursions by means of small parties, "there remained no other mode of extirpating them than to assail the robbers in their fastness with a strong commando."† The system of opera-

* It does not seem, however, that the Boers were very fond of taking prisoners. A. van der Walt, in February, 1775, requested to be allowed "to destroy the robbers without giving quarter." As a rule, the Bushmen were shot down to the last man, neither asking for quarter, nor accepting it when offered.

† The Dutch farmers believed they were engaged in a good work when on commando against Bushmen. Field-cornet Sergeant Carel van der Merwe says (September 3, 1779):—"So I went with the small party of twelve men, where, on the 10th, I found such an assemblage of robbers that we had not the courage to attack them; but reflecting that we have the promise in our favour, that they have the threat against

tions, the nature and causes of which have been now fully referred to, was energetically carried on until nearly the commencement of this century, and from official documents, concerning the authenticity of which there can be no doubt, it appears that from 1786 to 1795 no fewer than 617 horses, 17,633 cattle, and 77,176 sheep were stolen by Bushmen in the then recently-formed district of Graaff-Reinet, and that during the same period 2,480 natives were killed in that single division, and 654 captured and reduced to bondage.*

There can be no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion on the subject of the Bushman war. We see on the one side a mercantile monopolist Government, thoroughly indifferent to the interests of the native races, and making no attempt to civilize them; and on the other hand, bands of wild Bushmen, guided entirely by savage instincts which continually prompted them to take revenge for aggression by

them, and that the Lord does what seems good in his eyes, we advanced upon them, and they were put to flight by the powerful hand of the Ruler of heaven and earth." The reports are full of complaints regarding the disinclination of farmers to go on commando. Excuses of all descriptions, as well as open declarations of defiance and determination not to go on duty, are often mentioned, and never appear to have been punished.

* Regarding commandos against Bushmen, see *Moodie's Records*, official documents published in the *Cape Government Gazette* of the 6th April, 1838, *South African Mercantile Advertiser* file for 1838, correspondence regarding *Moodie's Records*, &c., as well as works by travellers of last century, *Dr. Philip's Researches*, &c. During the time Captain Stockenstrom was Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet the annual average of Bushmen killed was nine; prisoners captured, twenty-seven. The annual average during the previous period of ten years (from 1786 to 1795) being 248 killed; prisoners, 65. The following official documents bear relation to this subject:—

Summary of Reports (of depredations of Bushmen and commandos against them) found in the office of the Civil Commissioner of Graaff-Reinet, from 1785 to 1795:—

HORSES.			CATTLE.			SHEEP.		
Killed.	Taken.	Retaken.	Killed.	Taken.	Retaken.	Killed.	Taken.	Retaken.
309	349	41	1,891	17,270	1,527	3,895	80,169	6,888
PERSONS MURDERED			BUSHMEN KILLED					
by Bushmen.			In Pursuit.	On Commando.	Taken.			
276			163	2,341	669			

means of robbery and murder. The farmers acted as if they had never even heard of philanthropic ideas which ought to have prompted them to forbearance and mercy,

Table formed from Reports and Records at Graaff-Reinet, transmitted to Government in March, 1836, showing the number of Bushmen reported to have been killed and taken prisoners in that district during three separate periods, each of ten years :—

Last ten years of Government of Dutch East India Company, 1786 to 1795	Killed.	Prisoners.	Annual Average.		Proportion of Killed to Prisoners.
English and Batavian Government, 1795 to 1806	2,480	654	244	64	4 to 1
English Government, 1813 to 1824 (from Parliamentary Papers, p. 56)	367	252	36	25	3 to 2
	97	280	9	27	1 to 3

EXTRACTS FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

Extracts from Mr. Maynier's evidence. (This gentleman was appointed Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet in 1792) :—

“With regard to the Bushmen, I beg leave to observe that when I was appointed Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, I found that regularly every year large commandos, consisting of 200 and 300 armed Boers, had been sent out against the Bushmen, and learnt by their reports that generally many hundred Bushmen, &c., were killed by them, the greatest part helpless women and innocent children, &c. In order to prevent as much as possible such atrocities, the first preparatory step I took was not to allow those commandos any longer, but to substitute an order, &c., &c. This was of such effect that from that period the depredations of the Bushmen nearly ceased.”

Extract from Mr. Maynier's letter to Government, March, 1793 :—

“The inhabitants thus evading the important obligation of opposing the wicked enterprises of the ever-blundering Bushmen, so ruinous to the country. . . . Unless, indeed, the criminal conduct of these people is forthwith met by adequate measures whereby they will be inevitably compelled to attend the commandos, which are so necessary, &c., the most fearful consequences and disorders are to be expected. As nearly the whole supply of ammunition was issued to the late commando against the Bushmen, the undersigned takes the liberty humbly to request towards the employment of commandos, and the continual resistance of these roving malefactors, 1,000 lbs. gunpowder, 2,000 lbs. lead, and 4,000 flints.”

Extract from Records of Military Court, Graaff-Reinet, July 3rd, 1792, in the handwriting of Mr. Maynier :—

“The Landdrost having laid on the table two reports of a specific murder and extensive robbery by a particular kraal of Bushmen, it was resolved to write all the *wagt-meesters* of the district, in the most

and to make some endeavour to teach Christianity to those wretched outcasts whom they looked upon as irreclaimable thieves, whose nature it was impossible to change, and whose conduct left them but one alternative—*extermination*. The Government, exercising only a nominal control over the Frontier districts, and supinely indifferent to everything but commercial monopoly and profit, deserved to reap the whirlwind of anarchy, native wars, and revolution, in whose clouds the Government of the Dutch Netherlands East India Company soon sunk so unregretted as not to leave the least hope or desire that it would ever rise again in South Africa.

urgent terms, to command as many men as they can collect under the command of N. Smit, to proceed against the said robbers, if possible to overtake the plundered stock, and *extirpate, root and branch*, the Schelm Kraal, and give to the inhabitants some degree of security. . . . On the 7th August, the ringleader, Flaminek, and fully three hundred Hottentots, great and small, were shot, and fifteen children taken."

Extracts from Mr. Maynier's answers to Commissioners of Inquiry, 25th April and 7th May, 1825 :—

"I was appointed Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet in 1792. I had made several journeys as well to the Eastern as Northern limits. I was convinced that the complaints of the Boers about depredations from the Kafirs were often altogether unfounded, and always exaggerated. . . . I have had frequent opportunities to observe the effects of conciliatory measures with both Kafirs and Bushmen, and have found them invariably to succeed."

The above is an instance of the conflict of evidence on this subject.

CHAPTER IX.

Death of Governor Van Oudtshoorn—Governor Van de Graaff—Arrival of the British ship *Pigot* in Algoa Bay—Establishment of the Division of Graaff-Reinet—Van de Graaff superseded in favour of Rhenius—Disaffection—Petition to the Home Government—Commission sent—Their Proceedings—Commissioners from Holland appoint A. J. Sluysken Lieutenant-Governor—Disaffection and Rebellion throughout the Colony—Proceedings at Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam—Miserable Position of the Government—Arrival of the British Fleet under Vice-Admiral Elphinstone—Negotiations—Unsuccessful Attempt to Defend the Colony—Capitulation—Subsequent dispatch of a Dutch Fleet to conquer the Settlement—Failure of the Expedition—General Sir James Craig governs the Colony—Succeeded by the Earl of Macartney—Mr. Barrow Secretary to Government—Travels in the Interior—Great Shipwreck in Table Bay.

PIETER, Baron Van Rheede van Oudtshoorn, who had been appointed Governor, died on his passage to the Colony, on board the ship *Asia*, on the 23rd January, 1773. Cornelis Jacobus van de Graaff eventually succeeded Baron Van Plettenberg, and assumed his duties on the 14th February, 1785. On the 2nd May of that year, the British East India Company's ship *Pigot* put into Algoa Bay and landed more than one hundred scorbutic patients, who were located at the principal farm in the neighbourhood. Intelligence of this proceeding did not reach the Landdrost of Swellendam until the 10th of July following, and the news was first brought to the Governor in Cape Town by Colonel Dalrymple, a distinguished Engineer officer, who had been a passenger in the *Pigot*.* As jealousy of English influence was felt very strongly, no time was lost in establishing a new district (on which the name of Graaff-Reinett† was conferred) “to prevent any power from settling at the Baya a la Goa.” The newly-appointed Landdrost received special instructions to recall those colonists who had gone into the country of the Kafirs beyond the Great Fish River, and to endeavour by every

* *Cape of Good Hope*, by J. C. Chase. London, 1843.

† Named so in honour of Governor “Van de Graaff,” and his wife “Reinett.”

means in his power to cultivate relations of amity with the natives.

The history of the various circumstances which led to dissensions and strife between the Europeans and the Kafir tribes will be best considered at a subsequent period.

If we can believe the statements of a contemporary writer,* Governor Van de Graaff was an energetic and able ruler, whose exertions for the defence and prosperity of the Colony were thoroughly unappreciated by the Company. In the year 1790, a command to discontinue the construction of fortifications and to send 2,400 soldiers to Batavia† was accompanied by orders that Van de Graaff should resign his appointment at the Cape in favour of Johannes Isaac Rhenius, who had been previously engaged in the Company's tea trade. This officer assumed his duties on the 29th June, 1791, but was soon afterwards superseded by the arrival of three Commissioners from Holland to whose appointment and proceedings reference must now be made.

The list of accusations against the Cape Government framed in 1779 was forwarded to Holland in charge of delegates named Jacob van Reenen, Barend Artoys, Tielman Roos, and Nicholas Godfrey Heyns.‡ The wrongs of the colonists are bewailed, and one of these is declared to be Government interference for the protection of the natives. A number of charges are brought against Company's officers, and it is prayed that they should all be

* Neethling's *Onderzoek van 't Verbaal van Sluysken*.

† Including the Wurtemberg Regiment of 2,000 men. In 1792, Moravian Missions were again established in the Caledon division, at a place named Baviaan's Kloof, and subsequently (by Governor Janssens) at Genadendal. Progress in religious feeling was evinced by the admission of Christian slaves to communion in the Dutch Church. It is worthy of note that in 1793 a flock of merino sheep imported by Colonel Gordon were sold to a few emigrants on their way to New South Wales. The establishment of the Lombard Bank, to prevent usury and to aid in supplying a circulating medium, dates from 1793.

‡ *Memorie, &c., van Jacob van Reenen, Barend J. Artoys, Tielman Roos, en Nicholas Godfried Heyns. Gemagtigden van de Kaapsche Burgery in 1779* (Amsterdam, 1783).

interdicted from supplying foreign ships with refreshments and stores. "The Cape burghers further implore to be allowed to have some vessels to carry the produce of the Colony, after the requirements of the Company shall have been supplied, to India, and to receive in return wood, rice, and other articles of commerce; and also they pray for a concession of a trade in slaves with Madagascar and Zanguebar, that foreigners may not enjoy the exclusive profit of this lucrative traffic." Another grievance seems to have been that the Fiscal occasionally interfered with the punishment of slaves; consequently it is prayed "that the burghers shall be deemed at liberty to cause their slaves to be whipped by the executioner at the town prison, at their discretion, without being, however, entitled to act with too much severity; and that for this privilege no more than two shillings should be charged by the functionaries at the gaol." The other requests are more reasonable. Among them was a petition for the establishment of a printing press, or, at least, that authentic copies of the Indian Statutes and general laws of Holland should be sent out, so that the colonists might always be acquainted with the laws, and thus relieved from the arbitrary exactions of Fiscals and Landdrosts. It is also requested that the Final Court of Appeal be changed from Batavia to Holland. These petitions, although preferred with ability and energy, resulted in little save the displacement of a few officials, and the system remained unchanged. Other delegates, named Bergh, Redelinghuys, Roos, and Bresler, were sent to Holland in 1785, to obtain redress from the Company, and, failing success in this mission, to appeal for justice to the States-General of the Netherlands. These Cape representatives accomplished nothing, in consequence of dissensions amongst themselves; but, fortunately for the Dutch Colonies, a spirit of inquiry and a desire to reform abuses had arisen in Holland, which soon found expression by Commissioners-

* For particulars of this mission, see *De Eerloosheid Ontmaskerd, &c., door J. H. Redelinghuys*.

General Nederburgh and Frikenius being appointed in 1791* to inquire with the utmost exactitude and strictness into the position and administration of the Company's settlements. All abuses and malversations are to be searched for, investigated, and remedied; order is to be evoked from the chaos of confusion into which the affairs of Government had degenerated, justice is to replace arbitrary rule, and colonists are to become freemen in fact as well as by name. The most sanguine anticipations were indulged in at the Cape respecting this important system of reform, and it was at least hoped that, in future, the law would be so promulgated that all could easily become aware of its provisions, that free trade might be conceded, and that burgher privileges would be generously defined and publicly acknowledged. The Commissioners-General arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in 1793,† and were received with every demonstration of enthusiasm; but the hopes of the colonists were soon doomed to disappointment, for, to use the words of a pamphlet published shortly afterwards, "the most important of their proceedings consisted in their proclamation, amid firing of cannon and tolling of bells, that they represented the Prince of Orange; and the rest any office clerk might have done."‡ A few administrative alterations were effected; and then, as more important Colonies seemed to demand the immediate attention of the Commissioners, these officers left for Batavia in 1794, and appointed Mynheer Sluysken, an invalid returning to Holland, as their deputy at the Cape. Disaffection now extended throughout the entire Colony, and the complete extinction of hope that abuses would be reformed aggravated the feelings of discontent so prevalent among the community. Rebellion had long been imminent in the country districts, and early in 1795 broke out at

* These officers were appointed by the Stadtholder of the United Provinces, afterwards William the First of Holland.

† See *Echte Stukken, &c., &c., van de Generale Commissie, &c., door Mr. S. C. Nederburgh, Lid van de Commissie.*

‡ See C. L. Neethling's *Onderzoek van 't Verhaal van Sluysken, 1797.*

Graaff-Reinet. The Landdrost (Maynier) was expelled, and attempts were made to force some of the Heemraden and military officers to follow him. The upper merchant, Oloff Godlieb de Wet, as well as Captain Von Hugel and Secretary Truter, were sent in vain to quiet these disturbances. Meanwhile the people of Swellendam, encouraged by the success of those at Graaff-Reinet, removed their Landdrost (Faure) from office, although it is expressly stated that there was no charge against him. At the same time they expelled a Captain of Cavalry named De Jager, and also the Secretary and the Messenger of Justice. A turbulent fellow, named Louis A. Pisanie,* secured the chief direction of affairs at this place, a burgher named Hermanus Steyn was created Landdrost, and one Peter Delpont assumed the title of "National Commandant."

The incapacity of Sluysken was strikingly exhibited in his treatment of the rebellion. To use his own words,† "he saw no other course open than to leave these people of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet‡ to themselves, and to content himself, by means of gentle remonstrances and letters, to keep them in as much peace as possible; so that he so far succeeded by these means, and by appear-

* Governor Sluysken says, in his Journal, that this man was an Italian by birth, who had served as a soldier, deserted, and been banished. He was subsequently rehabilitated by the Court of Policy. A reward of 1,000 rix-dollars was offered to any man who would bring this rebel ringleader to justice. He was taken prisoner, with two of his companions named Hasselman and Bigler, on the 13th August, 1795.

† *Journal of Governor Sluysken.*

‡ The following is a summary of the chief complaints from Graaff-Reinet:—That the Military officers have not prosecuted war with the Kafirs. That Landdrost Maynier attempted to exercise unlimited power, and made Heemraden of certain persons because they agreed with him in everything. That the Company is repudiated because the Burghers have defended their lands in a constant war without any assistance, and do not wish to pay tribute for farms which they themselves defend. That free trade is not allowed, and "the cheat of paper moneys" permitted, and their burdens have become too heavy to bear. The following is a summary of the "principal requests of the General Body of Burghers" at Swellendam:—To be free from all

ing to be ignorant of the extreme irregularities which had occurred." His chief defence is "that the news of all this arrived when the English fleet came here;" but this pretext is evidently insufficient. A small body of troops would have been able to crush the insurrection in Swellendam, while the tame, submissive manner in which open rebellion was almost countenanced must have rendered the Government contemptible, and destroyed that

dues and imposts (*tollen en accyzen*), and to be allowed to deliver their produce to whom they willed. To pay no quitrent (arrear or otherwise). That declarations of amount of produce (*opgaaf*) be always taken as correct, without the Landdrost being allowed to add more. That every Hottentot taken prisoner or caught shall for his or her life remain the property of the captor. That paper money be abolished, and commerce declared free."

The burghers of Swellendam were, of course, with others, called to defend the Colony against the English, and seventy of them went to Cape Town for the purpose. The burgher officers, Morkel and Holthausen, were sent to bring the others to their duty; and the Burgher Senate sent an act of "Assurance," stating that they would be received with all affection and friendliness. The reply to this was a letter, dated 17th July, 1795 (with enclosures), in which surprise is expressed that the "National Convention of the Colony of Swellendam" was not recognized, and willingness "to shed the last drop of blood" is expressed in case the requests, already epitomised above, be granted. Imitation of French Republican forms seems to have been attempted. In their letter it is stated:—"Thursday, 16th July, 1795. National Assembly held in the forenoon. Present—Mr. President Hermanus Steyn, Herman's son, &c.; the others were H. N. van Vollenhoven, Ernst du Toit, the Commandant Petrus Jacobus Delport, and Louis Almoro Pisanie." The influence of the "Nationals" extended to Cape Town, and the wretched helplessness of the Government is painfully portrayed in the following extract from Sluysken's Journal:—"On July 26, there came at last another party of the Swellendam burghers, commanded by Capt. Müller, and everything seemed now to betoken a predetermined revolution and overthrow of the Government. Several writings, the contents of which were withheld from the undersigned, began to be handed about here and there for signature, and many of the principal officers and public servants began to fear that their dismissal was sought; and that indeed a worse fate was intended for them." Sluysken then proceeds to state that the plan he felt himself obliged to adopt was "to settle the minds of the discontented by the mildest measures." Martin (*British Colonies*, large edition, vol. iv., p. 30) says:—"The Cape

feeling of confidence on the part of the inhabitants which was now so much required when a hostile fleet and army demanded possession of the country.

During the night of the 11th of June, 1795, a special meeting of the Court of Policy was unexpectedly summoned, and a letter from Resident Brand laid before them, stating that nine English ships* were sailing up to the anchorage in Simon's Bay. The position of Governor

people, or Capians, as they were sometimes called, imbued with revolutionary views, and misled by the false reports of some emissaries sent for that purpose, were only awaiting the expected arrival of a French force to depose the existing authorities, and hoist the tricolour flag and cap of liberty." Barrow says (*Southern Africa*, vol. ii., p. 165):—"They prepared to plant a tree of liberty and establish a convention, whose first object was to make out proscribed lists of those who were either to suffer death by the new-fashioned mode of the guillotine, which they had taken care to provide for the purpose, or be banished the Colony. It is almost needless to state that the persons so marked out to be the victims of an unruly rabble were the only worthy people in the settlement, and most of them members of Government." Martin says in the work above quoted (vol. iv., p. 30):—"The adult male slaves, who bore the proportion of five to one of the white men, having heard their masters descant on the blessings of liberty and equality, and the inalienable rights of man, naturally desired to participate in these advantages, and held their meetings to decide on the fate of their owners when the day of emancipation should appear." The "Nationals" (Boers), who called themselves advocates of liberty and equality, dispersed the Moravian Mission Station at Baviaan's Kloof (now Genadendal), and issued a proclamation, stating, *inter alia*, "We will not permit any Moravians to live here and instruct the Hottentots; for as there are many Christians who receive no instruction, it is not proper that the Hottentots should be taught."

* These were—

NAMES.	GUNS.	COMMANDERS.
<i>Monarch</i>	74.....	Vice-Admiral Geo. Elphinstone.
<i>America</i>	64.....	Captain Blanket.
<i>Ruby</i>	64.....	„ Stanhope.
<i>Stately</i>	64.....	„ Douglas.
<i>Arrogant</i>	74.....	„ Lucas.
<i>Victorieuse</i>	74.....	„ Clark.
<i>Sphinx</i>	24.....	„ Brind.
<i>Echo</i>	16.....	„ Hardy.
<i>Rattlesnake</i>	16.....	„ Sprague.

Sluysken was indeed deplorable, and his own want of vigour and energy rendered any attempt to defend the Colony perfectly hopeless. The people were thoroughly disgusted with the Dutch Company, which had proved "neither rich enough to maintain its establishments, nor strong enough to govern its people;"* and they were, moreover, imbued with revolutionary ideas of the day little favourable to the control of any Government. Alarm guns were fired, and "every one betook himself to his proper post." Lieut.-Colonel De Lille was immediately dispatched to Muizenberg† with 200 infantry and 150 cavalry, and ordered on the following morning to march on to False Bay. Large numbers of men capable of bearing arms flocked in from Tygerberg, Koeberg, Zwartland, Stellenbosch, and Hottentot's Holland, and all the cavalry that came up were ordered to place themselves at Muizenberg. Meanwhile, Admiral Elphinstone having in vain requested a conference with the Governor and the Commandant (Colonel Gordon), sent an officer to Cape Town bearing a despatch from himself and Major-General Craig, accompanied by a letter from His Highness the Hereditary Prince Stadtholder. The despatch stated that the French had overpowered the Republic of the United Netherlands, and that the Dutch navy, together with Admiral Van Kingsbergen, had fallen into the hands of the enemy; further, that His Majesty of Great Britain, affected at the unfortunate position of His Highness, had sent this fleet to protect the Cape against any hostile attack on the part of the French, and it was expected that due obedience would be given to the accompanying mandate from the Stadtholder, ordering that British troops should be considered as allies, and admitted to the harbour and fort of the Cape.‡

* *Missions of the United Brethren*, p. 390.

† A strong position commanding the road from Simon's Bay to Cape Town.

‡ The following is the letter from the Prince of Orange, dated at Kew:—

"We have deemed it necessary by these presents to command you to

Governor Sluysken and Council, in reply, expressed grief at the misfortunes which had befallen the mother country, and a due sense of the kind attention of His Britannic Majesty to the interests of the Colony. They further stated that in case of a hostile attack they would be happy to avail themselves of the Admiral's proffered assistance, but felt themselves strong enough to resist any enemy who might threaten, and would be glad to learn the strength of the force under the Admiral's command. In the meantime, four hundred cavalry were stationed at Muizenberg, and Lieutenant-Colonel De Lille was ordered to retire there with his remaining troops. Three War Commissioners were appointed to provide the necessary supplies for the camp,* and a few temporary batteries and defences were raised. At this stage of proceedings, Admiral Elphinstone, considering that a confidential interview with the authorities was necessary, dispatched General Craig to Cape Town.† This officer could effect nothing, and a continued correspondence with the Cape authorities having proved useless, Admiral Elphinstone at last issued a Proclamation in which, among other points, it was urged how impossible it would be for His Britannic Majesty to permit the Cape, being the key of his Indian possessions, to fall into the hands of the French, as in that case the entire trade of the

admit into the Castle, as also elsewhere in the Colony under your Government, the troops that shall be sent thither by His Majesty the King of Great Britain, and also to admit the ships of war, frigates, or armed vessels which shall be sent to you on the part of His Majesty into False Bay, or wherever they can safely anchor; and you are to consider them as troops and ships of a power in friendship and alliance with their High Mightinesses the States-General, and who come to protect the Colony against an invasion of the French.

"Consigning you to the protection of Providence, we are,

"WILLIAM, PRINCE OF ORANGE."

* These Commissioners were Mr. Van Rheede van Oudtshoorn, the Burgher Councillor Truter, and Mr. Petrus Truter.

† On his arrival all the remaining soldiers were made to keep guard, and all officers of the "Pennisten Corps" and "Burgery" were commanded to walk about the Castle square in uniform. A corps of Sappers were made to mount guard outside; "all this (Mr. W. S. van Ryneveld says), as you may well imagine, to make the best appearance we could."

English East India Company would be ruined. Upon this the Governor and Council, considering that the interests of the Colony were made a mere pretence to advance those of Britain, ordered that the conveniences which had been afforded to the English fleet should be discontinued, and that all slaughter and other cattle were at once to be driven away from False Bay. It was resolved to throw all the gunpowder in False Bay into the sea, to spike the guns at the "Boetzelaar," destroy all the provisions, and retain only the "Zoutman" battery. Resident Brand and his Assistant were to remain at Simon's Bay as representatives of the Dutch flag.

Admiral Elphinstone expressed extreme displeasure, and declared that the Government was acting without the concurrence of the inhabitants and was attached to Jacobin principles. The firm attitude which the Cape rulers had taken might lead us to imagine that a well-concerted scheme of defence was prepared. But the contrary was the case. The strong position at Muizenberg of course formed the first and principal object of attack, and on the 8th of August, 1795, three line-of-battle ships and two frigates opened fire upon it, after having first silenced the Kalk Bay fort. Two twenty-four pounders were dismounted in less than an hour, and in a very short time afterwards the force under De Lille disgracefully retreated, leaving behind guns, ammunition, provisions, and tents. Meanwhile the British had increased the force already landed to two thousand men, who were promptly moved forward against De Lille. This officer was very easily driven from the new position he had taken up, and the important pass at Muizenberg was captured after a brief show of resistance. So disgusted were the colonists at these events, which they attributed to cowardice,* treason,

* A charge of cowardice, and of having traitorously abandoned Muizenberg, was made against De Lille on the 9th of August, signed by seven burgher captains, named Botha, Laubscher, De Waal, Van der Byl, Gous, Hoffman, and Mulder. They demanded that he should be placed under arrest, and this request was tumultuously endorsed by the citizens of Cape Town.

or incapacity, that when Governor Sluysken arrived at the Wynberg camp, he found it necessary to supersede De Lille, and to appoint Major Buissinné in his stead. But this was not sufficient to satisfy the citizens of Cape Town, who clamoured for the arrest of the obnoxious officer on the charge of having traitorously abandoned Muizenberg. De Lille was placed in confinement, although the Governor subsequently stated that the burghers, by throwing the blame on the military, were attempting to screen their own cowardice and insubordination. On the other hand it was confidently stated and generally believed that Sluysken connived with De Lille to betray the Colony.

On the 11th of August, and amidst the tumult of a discontented mob, Sluysken received a letter from Louis A. Pisanie, commandant of the Nationals, demanding his resolve upon their wishes without delay.* A rumour of the apprehended rebellion of the country Hottentots reached Cape Town about the same time, so that difficulties and dangers beset this incapable Governor upon all sides. The entire force at his disposal for the protection of the Colony consisted of about three thousand men,† but most of these were disaffected and ill-disciplined, while the pusillanimous manner in which the Muizenberg garrison had behaved gave little promise of future success. It is quite clear, however, that if anything could have been effected, it should have been attempted at once, as the English troops were only two thousand strong, and the Admiral distinctly informed Sluysken, on the 12th of August, that he shortly expected a reinforcement of three thousand men. A brave and competent leader would have made vigorous efforts at

* Pisanie was taken prisoner on the 13th August by burgher Captains Bresler, Botha, and Crous, at the farm of Marthinus Roux, Tygerberg. The citizens of Cape Town were very much alarmed at the onward march of the "Nationals," and lost sympathy for them in fear of a possible "Reign of Terror."

† Comprising 1,200 burgher cavalry, 350 infantry, and a few Malays, between 200 and 300 Hottentots, and most of the remainder were made up from the "Pennisten Corps."

this juncture to redeem his own honour and that of his country; but, as might have been expected from preceding events, time was frittered away in consultations, and the only people who did anything were the Pandouren, or Hottentots,* who constantly annoyed the English outposts. A proposal to attack the Muizenberg post (only garrisoned by six hundred men) was approved of, but subsequently abandoned on the report of four officers† that the enemy had so strengthened his position as to render the expedition unsafe.

On the evening of the 1st of September, a number of loyal Hottentots bitterly complained to the Governor of the ill-treatment which their wives and children had received from the burghers during a time when they themselves were risking their lives in the field.‡ Sluysken succeeded in conciliating these men (200 in number), partly by means of increasing their pay to two rix-dollars per month; and when he had induced them to return to the camp, a letter was sent to the Commandant and officers, pointing out their extreme indiscretion in having permitted so many men armed with muskets to enter Cape Town to the dismay and terror of the citizens. The idea of defending the Colony had soon to be abandoned. On the 4th of September, fifteen English ships, with reinforcements of three thousand men, under General Clarke, arrived in Simon's Bay, and seventy burghers immediately went home without leave. Numerous desertions followed, and Sluysken had to pretend to make a desperate effort to collect a strong force of Hottentots.§ An offer of accommodation from General Clarke having been rejected, 5,000 men marched to Wynberg on the 14th September, and

* Commanded by an officer named Cloete.

† Named Myburgh, Fischer, Von Hugel, and H. Cloete, junior.

‡ For wages of two rix-dollars per month, and food. One of their well-founded complaints was, that 200 rix-dollars given by the Governor to be divided between them had been withheld by certain burgher officers.

§ Van Reenen, Joubert, and Theunissen were dispatched to Stellenbosch and Swellendam for the purpose of raising Hottentot levies.

took possession of the camp, while another force was dispatched to effect a landing at Camp's Bay. Meanwhile the Cape troops had retreated to a distance of three miles from Cape Town and positively refused to go further back lest they should be completely shut in by the enemy.* Sluysken was now forced to solicit a truce, and to send two members of the Council (Van Ryneveld and Le Sueur) with powers to treat for a capitulation. Van Oudtshoorn, Commander of the Pennisten Corps, appears to have been the only officer who voted in favour of carrying on the contest against a greatly superior force and the Colony was consequently at once surrendered upon the most favourable terms that could be obtained. These included "all the privileges which colonists then enjoyed, as well as the existing public worship without alteration." The oath of allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain was required of all who continued to hold office, and General Craig was installed as Governor. The conduct of Sluysken was with justice severely censured on his return to Holland; and, although the circumstances of extreme difficulty in which he was placed form a powerful excuse, it is impossible to conceive a worse-conducted defence than that which took place under his direction. Sluysken was clearly a very ordinary man, utterly unfitted to hold the helm of Government under any circumstances, much less when the ship of State was exposed to the frightful storms of hostile attack and internal dissension.†

* According to a letter from Mr. W. S. van Ryneveld, Admiral Elphinstone interfered with the Dutch frigate *Medenblik*, which was lying in False Bay, and also with three private ships named *Willemstadt* and *Boetzelaar*, *Geertruyda*, and *Jonge Bonifacius*. The captain (Dekker) of the *Medenblik* was requested by the Admiral to place himself and ship under his orders, under instructions from the Stadtholder. Sluysken wished him to stay and share the defence of the Cape. The captain very wisely left the Cape as soon as he could, and prosecuted his voyage to Batavia. When he arrived there, he informed the Government that Elphinstone would probably pay them a visit, and also proceed to Ceylon. Several Dutch vessels in Saldanha Bay surrendered on 12th September, 1796.

† Judge Watermeyer remarks :—"Sluysken met with much obloquy when, in accordance with the terms of the surrender, he returned to

The power of the Dutch East India Company over the Cape was now ended, after having endured one hundred and forty-three years. As they sowed, so did they reap. Monopoly and the repression of industry destroyed commerce and fomented discontent, so that what might have grown into a wealthy and flourishing Colony became merely a weak and struggling Settlement, whose citizens were ever discontented and desirous of any change which could release them from the irksome restrictive regulations selfishly imposed by an association of merchants. A Government which was unable to control its own subjects at Swellendam could have little influence over the scattered farmers, by whom vengeance upon the coloured races for theft was considered almost a religious duty, and practised with the greatest perseverance and impunity.*

The Dutch Government were by no means disposed to suffer tamely the loss of such a valuable possession as the

Holland. But he clearly did not merit the disgrace connected with his name. He was accused of treason to the national cause in not having made a successful defence. But it clearly appears that defence was out of the question. Janssens, a far abler man, with considerable force, and while the country was in a state of profound quiet, in 1806, effected no more than Sluysken in 1795." (Lectures, page 66.) With regard to the capitulation, it is worthy of remark that Colonel Henry, who had left the Cape previous to 1795, writing to Holland, urges that more troops, or at all events *other commanders*, be sent out, "being assured that those who are now at the head of the Colony (Sluysken and Gordon) will surrender the Cape to the English." Colonel Gordon committed suicide. His body was found in his garden a few days after the capitulation. A full consideration of Sluysken's pusillanimous defence must convince an impartial mind that he was either thoroughly incapable of performing the duties of his office, or otherwise was a traitor.

* Judge Watermeyer thus sums up as regards the rule of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape:—"At the commencement of the period, the energy of these traders of a small commonwealth, who founded empires and divided the command of the seas, merits admiration. But their principles were false, and the seeds of corruption were early sown in their Colonial administration. For the last fifty years at least of their rule here, there is little to which the examiner of our records can point with satisfaction. The effects of this pseudo colonization were, that the Dutch, as a commercial nation, destroyed commerce.

Cape. A fleet, under the command of the celebrated Admiral De Winter, was fitted out in the Texel, and, escaping the English blockade, put to sea on the 23rd of February, 1796. It consisted of two large ships respectively carrying 64 and 54 guns, besides seven frigates and sloops, with a large force on board of the best land troops then available for active service. The English were very much perplexed as "to where the Dutch had passed the spring and summer." Their ships had taken a northern course round the Faroe Islands, so that they did not reach Teneriffe until the 4th of April, and they then remained there (to refit and obtain refreshments) for forty-three days. The squadron subsequently sighted Cape Augustine on the coast of Brazil, and eventually reached Saldanha Bay on the 31st of July, 1796, after a voyage of 159 days. After anchoring, the sick were landed on Schaapen Island, and several officers visited farms in the neighbourhood, and learned that there was a division of opinion among the inhabitants of Cape Town with regard to the British Government, as, although some were discontented, many were satisfied in consequence of the good prices which they obtained for their produce. From the diary of an officer* who accompanied the expedition, it would seem that there was an extraordinary lack of energy. Time passed away without any result. The only efforts which appear to have been made were directed to the capture of cattle. At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 17th of August,

The most industrious race of Europe, they repressed industry. One of the freest States in the world, they encouraged a despotic misrule, in which falsely-called free citizens were enslaved. These men, in their turn, became tyrants. Utter anarchy was the result. Some national feeling may have lingered; but substantially every man in the country, of every hue, was benefited when the incubus of the tyranny of the Dutch East India Company was removed." In a foot-note this writer remarks:—"The Government from 1803 to 1806, by De Mist and Janssens, under the 'Batavian Republic,' was most beneficial to the Colony, and furnishes a great contrast to the misrule of the East India Company." (Lectures, page 67.)

† See Memoirs of this officer (Mr. Korsten), by Hon. J. C. Chase, M.L.C. Appendix.

several British ships were seen outside the bay, and bodies of cavalry, infantry, and artillery made their appearance on the hills and beach, and commenced to fire on the *Bellona*, one of the Dutch ships which had been stranded. At 4 p.m., a British frigate entered, and the Dutch Rear-Admiral opened fire. This vessel had only looked in to reconnoitre, and was followed in an hour afterwards by two others. Then the Dutch saw to their dismay no fewer than five ships-of-the-line, seven frigates, and a brig—all bearing the British flag. The Batavian colours were, however, bravely hoisted, and the Dutch ships exposed their broadsides to the English, who contented themselves with anchoring at the mouth of the bay—formed in two lines—thus preventing the possibility of egress. As might have been expected, the Dutch Admiral was forced to submit. While negotiations were in progress, a mutiny broke out on board the Batavian ship *Castor*, whose seamen seized upon the wine and openly mutinied, declaring that it was better that it should be drunk by them than by the English. A scene of wild excitement ensued, which was not put a stop to until the captain arrived and announced the surrender.

General Sir James Craig assumed the reins of Government, and was ably assisted by Mr. Hercules Ross, who had accompanied him as Paymaster of the Forces. A good deal of difficulty must have been experienced at first, as the colonists “were much out of humour and refractory.”* Batteries were erected on Devil’s Hill, and Craig’s Tower, Cape Town, as well as Fort Frederick, Algoa Bay, were built. So utterly beyond control were the inhabitants of the distant districts, that when Mr. Bresler was sent as Landdrost to Graaff-Reinet, he and the Clergyman were expelled by the Boers, and the Govern-

* These are Sir John Barrow’s words (see *Autobiography*, page 137). According to this writer, the Secretary for the Colonies (Right Hon. Henry Dundas) stated in the British Parliament that the Minister who ever thought of giving up the Cape ought to lose his head. Barrow was fully impressed with the great importance of this settlement, and brings forward numerous arguments in favour of its being retained.

ment set at defiance. As the Secretary of State for the Colonies naturally thought that a civilian of high rank and character would be more acceptable as Governor than a military officer to whom the Colony had capitulated, the Earl of Macartney received His Majesty's commission. This nobleman arrived in Cape Town on the 4th of May, 1797, and was attended by Mr. Barrow (afterwards Sir John Barrow) as Secretary. At this time affairs appeared in a very bad position. Graaff-Reinet was virtually in rebellion—all classes were discontented, and both the people and the country were strange. One of Lord Macartney's first acts was to send for the Landdrost and Clergyman who had been expelled from Graaff-Reinet, and inform them that he had resolved upon compelling the Boers to receive them both back, and apologize for their previous conduct. The Landdrost and Clergyman having objected to return, the Governor asked Mr. Barrow to go with them, saying, "I think you will have no objection to accompany one or both of these gentlemen to the presence of these savages, which may lead them to reflect that it must be out of tenderness to them that I have preferred to send them one of my own family rather than at once to bring them to their senses by a regiment of dragoons. Besides this, I have another motive for wishing you to accompany them. We are shamefully ignorant even of the geography of the country; I neither know, nor can I learn, where this Graaff-Reinet lies—whether it is five hundred or a thousand miles from Cape Town. I am further informed that the Kafirs, with their cattle, are in possession of the Zuurveld, the finest grazing country in the Colony, and that these people and the Boers are perpetually fighting and mutually carrying off each other's cattle. These matters must no longer be tolerated." When the party under the direction of Mr. Barrow and the Landdrost (the parson positively refused to go) arrived in Graaff-Reinet, a meeting of the inhabitants was called, to whom the commission of the Magistrate was read, and the intentions of His Excellency explained. They all seemed much pleased, and did not separate until they had

shaken hands in a friendly manner. One clever but mischievous individual having assembled a number of noisy people together at a tavern, so as to give some alarm to the Landdrost, Mr. Barrow went in among them, requested a written statement of grievances, and found the malcontents "extremely civil." The promised list came the next day, and consisted of a complaint that when the Kafirs had invaded their district, the Acting Landdrost had not condescended to give an answer to a requisition for a commando. Mr. Barrow's reply was that "his instructions from the Governor were to accompany the Landdrost to the part of the district where the Kafirs had located themselves, and to endeavour to persuade them to retire across the boundary into their own country, and it was hoped we should prevail upon them to do it; but that it was the decided determination of the Governor to put an end to those commandos, which had caused so much bloodshed and ill-feeling; and, moreover, that the general opinion of their own countrymen at the Cape and southern districts was, that the plunder of the Kafirs' cattle was the main object of these hostile expeditions."

Affairs having been arranged as well as circumstances would permit, Mr. Barrow and the Landdrost set out on the expedition to Kafirland. Upon arriving at Algoa Bay* they found Her Majesty's ship *Hope*, which had been expressly sent by Admiral Pringle to meet them. On arriving at the banks of the Kariega, their tents were

* Mr. Barrow says:—"On the western point of Algoa Bay, where the landing place was pointed out as being the most practicable and secure, a beautiful verdant terrace of grass and shrubby clumps extended about a quarter of a mile along the coast. It appeared to me so lovely a spot, and so delightfully situated, that I was tempted to declare I would erect there my baaken or landmark, and solicit from the Governor possession of it, either as a free gift or by purchase. . . . At a distance of fifteen miles which I rode over to the westward of the bay, and close to the sea shore, I was agreeably surprised to meet with an extensive forest of many thousand acres; many of the trees rose to the height of thirty or forty feet without a branch, with a trunk of ten feet in diameter."—*Sir J. Barrow's Autobiography*, p. 162.

pitched amidst hundreds of Kafirs,* and two Chiefs, named Malloo and Tooley, soon paid them a visit. Upon these savages having been asked whether they were acquainted with the treaty that fixed the Great Fish River as the boundary between the Christians and the Kafirs, Malloo said that they knew it very well. "Then," it was asked, "had they not violated that treaty by crossing the river and taking possession of the country belonging to the colonists, thus depriving them of their habitations?" Malloo immediately replied that there were no dwellings where they had fixed themselves, and that they had come in pursuit of game. Mr. Barrow informed them that the country had passed into the hands of Britain, that it was necessary the Kafirs should respect the boundary and recross the Fish River, and that he was about to visit their King, Gaika.† Upon reaching the place of the Great Chief, about fifteen miles beyond the Keiskamma River, Gaika made his appearance, riding on an ox in full gallop, and attended by five or six of his people similarly mounted. A conference took place, at which Mr. Barrow fully explained the wishes of the Government, and the reply was satisfactory. Malloo and Tooley, it appeared, were independent Chiefs, but Gaika readily agreed to invite their return, as well as to keep up a friendly intercourse with the Landdrost, by sending annually one

* "Some of the men wore skin cloaks, but the greater part were entirely naked. The women wore cloaks that extended below the calf of the leg; they had leather caps trimmed with beads, shells, and pieces of polished copper or iron. In the evening they sent us some milk in baskets. They may be said to live entirely, or nearly, on coagulated milk."

† It would seem that these Kafirs probably had fled from their own country, as they begged Mr. Barrow to intercede for them with Gaika, and expressed their willingness to return to their own country if the Great Chief approved. Old Rensberg, who had been one of the party sent out to seek for the passengers of the ill-fated *Grosvenor*, acted as Mr. Barrow's guide. This man stated that between the Kariega and the Fish River he had seen multitudes of elephants, including one troop comprising 400 or 500. Lions, leopards, wolves, hyenas, and other beasts of prey were very numerous. The Fish River abounded with hippopotami.

of his captains to Graaff-Reinet bearing a brass gorget with the arms of Britain engraved upon it. As might have been expected, the Kafirs on the Colonial side of the Fish River subsequently refused to move, and Mr. Barrow considers that they were encouraged in this determination by a set of adventurers, "chiefly soldiers or sailors, who had either deserted or been discharged from the Dutch army and the Company's shipping." The English expedition proceeded over the Sneeuwberg to the Orange River, and through the country of the Bosjesmans, where their object was "to bring about a conversation with some of the Chiefs of those poor people, to persuade them, if possible, to quit their wild and marauding life, on being assured that the colonists would not be permitted to molest them; at the same time to see the state of this portion of the Colony, and of the Christian inhabitants, as they designate themselves." Mr. Barrow's preconceived notions against the Dutch farmers appear to have prevented a just appreciation of the excessive losses which they suffered from native depredations. These constant thefts ought at least to be taken into account as some palliation for their conduct. Without any reservation, all the commandos are denounced as abominable expeditions, and the Boers are spoken of as worse than savages.* It was found impossible even to confer with the Bushmen, much less to persuade them of the good intentions of the English Government.† Mr. Barrow

* Yet in speaking of the boers of Sneeuwberg, he says:—"They appeared to be in general a better description of men than those towards the sea-coast—a peaceable, obliging, and orderly people; a brave and hardy race of men. Many examples of female fortitude have been shown and recorded. The wife of one of our party having received intelligence, in the absence of her husband, that the Bosjesmans had carried off a troop of their sheep, instantly mounted her horse, took a musket in her hand, and, accompanied by a single Hottentot, engaged the plunderers, put them to flight, and recovered every sheep."—*Barrow's Autobiography*, p. 179.

† It was about the year 1796 that the Hottentot, Afrikander, who had murdered his Dutch master, organized a large band of robbers near the Orange River, and afterwards drove the Korannas to the east-

subsequently travelled into Namaqualand, and was, on his return, appointed Auditor-General by the Earl of Macartney.* It was during his residence in Cape Town, on the 5th November, 1799, that H.M.S. *Sceptre* was totally wrecked, and the Danish 64-gun brig *Oldenberg*, together with six other vessels, driven ashore during a violent north-westerly gale. At one o'clock p.m. of that day the *Sceptre* fired the usual *jeu de joie* to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot, and at ten the same evening only the fragments of this fine ship were visible. The captain (Edwards), together with his son and ten other officers, with three hundred seamen, perished, and their mangled corpses were found on sharp rocks amidst the remains of the wreck.

ward, where subsequently, under missionary direction, they formed a commencement of the Griqua nation. In 1787-8 a part of the T'Slambie Kafir tribe migrated towards the Orange River, and afterwards, being driven back, settled in the Beaufort division, about the neighbourhood of Praamberg and Schietfontein. Percival travelled in South Africa during 1796, but space will not permit a reference either to his travels, nor to the later ones of Lichtenstein, Latrobe, Burchell, &c.

* Speaking of the Cape Town water supply, Mr. Barrow says:—"Part of this (Table Mountain) stream was conducted to a fountain at the lower part of the town, where many hundred slaves were accustomed to assemble, wrangling, fighting, and rioting for their turn of getting water. The Fiscal had constantly two of his men stationed there to preserve the peace. He said to me one day, 'How do you contrive in London to get a supply of water? Here there are not fewer than a thousand slaves occupied.'" Mr. Barrow promised to give a plan for supplying each house, and subsequently Lord Caledon carried it into execution.

CHAPTER IX.

Departure of the Earl of Macartney—Lieutenant-Governor Dundas—Mutiny in the Cape Squadron—Rebellion of the Graaff-Reinet Boers—Mr. Barrow visits the Eastern Districts as a Special Commissioner—A United Body of Kafirs and Hottentots ravage a large portion of the Colony—Naval Engagement in Algoa Bay—Proceedings of Government—Sir George Young Governor—Succeeded by Sir Francis Dundas—Treaty of Amiens—The Cape handed over to the Dutch—General Janssens Governor—Commissioner De Mist—Statistical and General Information—Treaty with the Chief Gaika—War in Europe apprehended—New Division of Uitenhage formed—Commissary-General De Mist confers Van Riebeeck's Heraldic Arms upon the City of Cape Town—Manners and Customs of the time—News of an English Expedition—Arrival of Fleet and Army under Sir David Baird—Landing of the British Troops—Battle of Blaauwberg—Capitulation of Cape Town Castle—Capture of the Colony—Subsequent Proceedings—Departure of Sir D. Baird—Du Prè, Earl of Caledon, Governor—Insurrection of Slaves—Outrages—Suppression.

THE Earl of Macartney left the Cape on the 20th of November, 1798, in consequence of his health having so far given way as to make it expedient for him to return to England. As it was a special condition of his appointment that he could at any time transfer his duties to the next in command, he invested the Lieutenant-Governor, Major-General Dundas, with supreme authority. He also allowed him to receive the entire salary of £10,000 a year.* Under the rule of Lord Macartney, a serious mutiny in the fleet at home had produced a rebellion in the Cape squadron at Simon's Bay. In October, 1797, an outbreak commenced; officers were deprived of their commands and delegates appointed. By firm and prudent conduct, Admiral Pringle soon succeeded in restoring order; but, subsequently, on the return of the squadron to Table Bay, and the arrival of other vessels, a mutiny again broke out on board the flag-ship, then lying off the Amsterdam Battery. On this occasion, Lord Macartney proved him-

* Under Lord Macartney's rule the boundary of the Colony was proclaimed to be the Great Fish River, Tarka, Bamboesberg, and Zuurbergen, to the Plettenberg's baaken, and along the south end of Bushmanland to the Kamiesberg, and along the Buffels River to the Atlantic.

self well fitted to command. He immediately ordered the Amsterdam Fort guns to be loaded, and shot to be heated in the ovens, while he dispatched a message to the mutinous crew in the *Tremendous*, informing them that if they did not hoist the Royal Standard in half an hour, as a token of unconditional surrender, he would blow their ship out of the water. Within the given time submission was made.* If this had not been done, "no one doubted that Lord Macartney would have played the whole battery upon her, until she was either burnt, sunk, or destroyed." The writer just quoted (Mr. Barrow), in speaking of the brief administration of this nobleman, states that it was distinguished "by the same system of public economy, by the same integrity and disinterestedness, which had marked his career in every public situation of his life; and the same good effects were experienced here as elsewhere in spite of the national prejudice of the inhabitants. The Colony, indeed, advanced rapidly to a degree of prosperity which it had never known under its ancient masters; the public revenue was nearly doubled, without the addition of a single tax, and the value of every kind of property was increased in proportion." No sooner had the "*oude Edelman*" left, than the Boers of Graaff-Reinet held a secret meeting, and determined "to prove themselves patriots" by going upon commando against the Kafirs.† The Acting Governor (Dundas) promptly ordered a detachment of dragoons, with a few companies of infantry, and part of the Hottentot Corps, under General Vandeleur,

* Writing to Mr. Dundas, Lord Macartney says:—"It (the mutiny) appears solely to have proceeded from mere wantonness in the sailors, and a vanity of apeing their fraternity in England. This spirit of sea mutiny seems like the sweating sickness in the reign of Edward IV.—a national malady, which, as we are assured by historians of the day, not content with its devastations in England, visited at the same time every Englishman in foreign countries, at the most distant parts of the globe.

‘ The general air

From pole to pole, from Atlas to the East,
Was then at enmity with English blood.’ ”

† Their first proceeding was to rescue a prisoner who was going under the escort of a dragoon to be tried at the Cape.

to proceed to the disaffected district; and no sooner had the rebels received intelligence of this than they broke up their camp and sued for pardon. The reply was, that until they laid their arms down and surrendered, no terms could be made. Shortly after, most of them appeared before General Vandeleur, who sent nine of the ring-leaders to Simon's Bay in Her Majesty's ship *Rattlesnake* from Algoa Bay, and levied a fine on the rest towards defraying the expenses of the expedition. In the meantime, General Dundas, being ignorant of the country, its inhabitants, and their causes of quarrel, dispatched Mr. Barrow to the Eastern Districts as a special commissioner. This gentleman, in his autobiography, states that he received numerous accounts "of the atrocious conduct of the Boers towards the Kafirs and Hottentots." He is known, however, to have received most of his information on this subject from Mr. Maynier, the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet, who had been expelled from that town by the Dutch Boers, and smarting under ignominy, was not over-scrupulous in imparting intelligence,—nor was Mr. Barrow disinclined to listen and to believe anything against men in rebellion. The documents relating to the affairs of Graaff-Reinet, from 1793 to 1803, which might have corrected, if not disproved, the allegations of Maynier, had been taken to Holland by Commissioner Sluysken, and therefore were not accessible to Mr. Barrow, otherwise he would not have so sweepingly condemned the Boers, of whose antecedents he was totally ignorant. "On our road to Algoa Bay," Barrow says, "we were met by a party of Hottentots, so disguised, and dressed in such a whimsical manner, that I asked if they had not been committing depredations on the Boers; they readily admitted it." Their leader, Klaas Stuurman, humbly entreating to be heard, made a long oration, containing a history of their calamities, in which he alleged that the farmers were endeavouring to prevent the Hottentots from obtaining any redress, and that the men under his direction were determined to deprive the Boers of their arms, and to take clothing in lieu of wages due.

“The further we advanced,” says Mr. Barrow, “the more seriously alarming was the state of the country, and it was clear that the connexion between the Boers and the Hottentots, kept up by violence and oppression on the one side, and by want of energy and patient suffering on the other, was on the point of being completely dissolved.” Stuurman’s party, however, were induced to lay down their arms; but the Kafirs were much less docile. Congo, one of their chiefs, who had been required to leave the Colony, attacked a portion of General Vandeleur’s forces.* About the same time twenty men of the 81st Regiment, under Lieutenant Chumney, when returning from the sea-coast to the Bushmans River camp, were surprised by a large party of Kafirs, who rushed upon them with assagais, from which the wooden parts had been broken off. This brave young officer carried on a spirited contest until sixteen of his men had fallen, and then, in order to save the lives of the other four, made a sign for them to retreat in one direction, while he galloped off in another. He was speedily pursued and killed, but the four men succeeded in making their escape.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Barrow at a plain close to Algoa Bay, he was surprised to see a large number of Boers (150), who had been plundered by Hottentots, assembled together with their families, wagons, and cattle, in order to request English protection. The Hottentots, five hundred strong, also demanded redress. As Her Majesty’s steamer *Rattlesnake* was still in Algoa Bay, twenty armed seamen were landed, together with a swivel-gun, which was mounted on a post between the Boers and the Hottentots. For several days matters remained *in statu quo*, until a rumour, set on foot by the Dutch, that the natives were to be carried off in English ships, so affrighted the Hottentots that they quickly dispersed. The prevailing want of confidence rendered any attempt to

* The disaffected and rebel Boers, it is said, incited Congo to make war against the English. Conrad Buys, a rebel colonist, who fled to Gaika’s protection in 1797, and subsequently married that chief’s mother, did his best to influence the Kafir tribes against the English.

restore peace unavailing. Under these circumstances Mr. Barrow returned to the Cape, while General Vandeleur, thinking it inadvisable "to wage an unequal war with savages," withdrew his forces to Algoa Bay. Some of the troops were sent away in the *Rattlesnake*, but a large number remained until the evacuation of the Colony. About this time a united body of Hottentots and Kafirs ravaged the Graaff-Reinet division, defeated the Boers, and pursued them as far west as the Gamtoos River. Here they were met by a force under the command of the brave Tjaard van der Walt, who was killed in the action that ensued. The terrified farmers then lost hope, and fled in different directions, and the progress of their pursuers was not checked until they were defeated by a force composed of English and of Swellendam Boers, at the Caymans River, not far from Mossel Bay.

Continued disturbances took place throughout the Colony. The Landdrost of Swellendam (Mr. Anthony A. Faure) had been obliged to order all the inhabitants of his district to oppose the attacks of Kafirs and Hottentots. In a letter from this officer, a report of the massacre of fifty whites is referred to. In August, 1799, the disturbances had increased, and a commando from Stellenbosch was ordered out under Johan Gerhard Cloete. In 1801, the inhabitants of Roggeveld were so plundered by banditti under the notorious Afrikander, that a squadron of dragoons had to be stationed between Cape Town and the Karoo; and in December of the same year, a burgher named Floris Langman and his wife, three children, and five or six servants, were cruelly murdered. Lieutenant-Governor Dundas immediately ordered out a commando to pursue the criminals, but recommended cautious treatment towards the natives. About the same time, an aged farmer, Cornelis Coetzée, together with his two sons, and a man named Wemer, were murdered by slaves and Hottentots. A report of Field-cornet Kruger, preserved in the Colonial Records, refers to a marauding party in the Roggeveld sixty-eight strong—some armed with muskets. So late as May, 1802, a

detachment of dragoons remained at Stellenbosch for the protection of its inhabitants. On the 1st of October, 1801, an expedition was dispatched by the Cape Government to the country beyond the limits of the Colony, chiefly with the object of opening a trade, so that supplies of cattle, &c., might be sent regularly to Cape Town. A large garrison and naval station had to be provided for, and provisions frequently ran short. Mr. P. J. Truter, of the Court of Justice, and Dr. Somerville, were the Commissioners sent.*

During the time His Majesty's frigate *Rattlesnake* was in Algoa Bay, a French man-of-war, *La Preneuse*, of forty-eight guns, heavy metal, sailed up to the anchorage flying British colours, and was supposed to be one of our fleet at that time stationed at the Cape. Having dropped anchor between the store-ship (a worn-out 74, named the *Camel*) and the *Rattlesnake*, a broadside was immediately fired into the former, and the tricolour displayed. Unfortunately more than two boats' crews from the *Rattlesnake* were on shore, and the surf was so high that it was impossible to reach the vessel. The greatest vigour and promptitude were displayed. The few guns on board the *Camel* were fired at the assailant, and the *Rattlesnake* carried on a desperate resistance. The troops at Algoa Bay were marched to the beach, and four guns were brought from Fort Frederick and mounted upon an improvised battery. Darkness in the meantime had come on, and the French commander, probably over-estimating the means of defence, weighed anchor and sailed to the Bird Islands. Having repaired his rigging, he put to sea on the following day. The action, it is said, was sharp and lasted six hours and twenty minutes. Despatches giving an account of it were immediately sent overland to the Admiral at the Cape, who ordered out a seventy-four in pursuit. *La Preneuse* escaped capture in consequence of the British man-of-war being unable to fire her lower tier of guns, but

* A full account of the tour will be found in Mr. P. B. Borchers's *Autobiography*, p. 44, *et seq.*

was subsequently forced to run into the River Plate, where she was stranded and abandoned.*

A scarcity of food, owing principally to a bad harvest and the large supplies which had to be sent to the troops in the Eastern districts, alarmed the Government. General Dundas, having consulted the Burgher Senate, was advised to import breadstuffs, and managed so well that grain of different kinds speedily arrived, and at the end of the third year the Corn Committee was able to report that, after having distributed immense quantities of food at little more than cost price, a small balance of profit remained on hand. A change of Government† in England caused a new appointment at the Cape, and Sir George Young was sent out as Governor, though General Dundas was at the same time appointed to be Commander-in-Chief and Lieutenant-Governor. According to Mr. Barrow, great discontent prevailed amongst Dutch and English under the new Administration, and many complaints against it were supposed to have been sent home. Its duration, however, was very short. Early in the year 1801, Sir George Young was recalled, and General Sir Francis Dundas received the appointment of Governor. But this officer in turn was destined to be only a short time in power, as by the Treaty of Peace signed at Amiens on the 27th of March, 1802, it was specially provided "that the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall

* See Memoir of Mr. Korsten, by Mr. Chase, printed in Appendix.

† The Right Hon. Hiley Addington had succeeded the Right Hon. William Pitt as Prime Minister, and Lord Hobart was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies and the War Department. Sir George Young's Government dates from 18th December, 1799, and continued till 20th April, 1801. An unsuccessful attempt was made by this Governor to form Volunteer Corps, and he brought out to the Colony a noted agriculturist named Duckett, who was to teach the colonists how to raise large crops. Although he had a Government estate given to him, with slaves to work upon it, his crops were "the worst and most scanty that had ever been produced." Count Lichtenstein, the traveller, was brought out by Sir George Young. The *Government Gazette* was established in the year 1800, and in the year previous (1799) the first missionaries of the London Missionary Society (Van der Kemp and Kicherer) arrived in the Colony.

remain to the Batavian Republic in full sovereignty." In March, 1803, a large Dutch force arrived, and the British troops were removed into the Castle until they could be embarked.

The new Governor (Janssens), together with the Commissioner De Mist, were received with great courtesy by General Dundas, who immediately resigned to them his residence within the Castle. Stores had been valued, and everything was ready for departure, when despatches received by an English frigate commanded the British Governor on no account to give up possession of the Cape till further orders. In this serious dilemma it was very cordially agreed that the Dutch should remove into cantonments at Wynberg, in order to prevent any collision, and wait there till definite orders should be received from home. A period of anxious suspense* followed, which was terminated towards the close of the year by counter-orders from England, under which the abandonment of the Colony was speedily effected.

The following statistical and general information, illustrative of the position of the Colony at the end of last century, cannot fail to be of interest. According to the *opgaaf* lists of the four districts (Cape, Stellenbosch, Swellendam, and Graaff-Reinet), there were in the Colony during 1798, exclusive of British, 21,746 Christians, 25,754

* Mr. Barrow says:—"It was certainly a painful suspense, and some of the Radical party in the town did their best to cause a rupture, hoping they would meet encouragement from Mr. De Mist, who was supposed to be a friend of Talleyrand, but they were deceived in him; he was an able, agreeable, and, I believe, an honest man."—*Autobiography*, p. 241. After Mr. Barrow's return to London in 1804, he was appointed Secretary to the Admiralty, and (with a short interval) continued to hold this situation till the year 1845. Sir John Barrow originated the Geographical Society, and promoted many scientific expeditions of great importance. His chief works are *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, 1801-3; *A Voyage to Cochin China*; *The Life of Macartney*; *An Autobiographical Memoir*; *A History of Voyages into the Arctic Regions*; and *Sketches of the Royal Society*. He was created a baronet by Sir Robert Peel in 1835, and died in 1848, at the age of 84.

slaves, and 14,447 Hottentots, making a grand total of population, 61,947.* The ancient tenure on which land had been granted was on "*loan*,"† on condition of paying an annual rent of twenty-four rix-dollars. "Gratuity lands" were those which upon petition had been converted into a sort of customary copyhold, liable to a nominal rent; a few real estates were held in fee simple, and the others were "*quitrent*" farms. The income of the Colony for the year 1800 amounted to £73,919, to which "land revenue" contributed Rds. 43,396; duties on wine and grain levied at the barrier, Rds. 31,390; transfer duty, Rds. 45,576; "public vendue," Rds. 61,166; customs, Rds. 38,582; licences to retail wine and spirits, Rds. 65,191; interest of capital lent out through the loan bank, Rds. 26,240; stamped paper, Rds. 18,751; seizures, fines, and penalties, Rds. 26,572; postage, only Rds. 1,111; port fees, Rds. 3,945; and duty arising from sale of property on loan estates, Rds. 5,939. The expenditure chiefly consisted in the payment of civil establishment salaries and repairing public buildings, for which the revenue was so much more than adequate that in the year after the departure of Lord Macartney there was a clear balance in the Treasury amounting to between two and three hundred thousand rix-dollars.

Both the constitution and practice of the Court of Justice at the Cape remained unaltered at the capitulation. Two-thirds of its members were civil servants, and the remainder were chosen from the burghers of the town. The Fiscal and the Secretary interpreted the law, proceedings were conducted with closed doors‡ (*foribus clausis*);

* Horses, 47,436; cattle, 251,206; sheep, 1,448,536; leggers of wine, 9,108; muids of wheat, 138,028; muids of barley, 67,438.

† There were 1,832 loan farms in the Colony, and only 107 gratuity lands.

‡ An exception was made in the case of a trial of boers for sedition. The Court of Justice proved its wisdom and integrity by punishing the authors of a most nefarious imposition which had been carried with complete success through the Court of Vice-Admiralty.

no oral pleading nor confronting the accused with the witnesses was permitted, but depositions on oath were taken down before two commissioners and subsequently read to the Court. Two irreproachable and concurring witnesses were always required to substantiate the guilt of a person charged with a capital offence, and one witness to good character was considered of equal weight to two witnesses against a prisoner. Circumstantial evidence, no matter how strong, could never warrant a sentence of death being carried into execution until a free confession had been made. It is said, however, that this confession was sometimes extorted by means of torture. Barrow testifies that the Court was very correct in its decisions, and that out of the number of its civil cases brought before the English Court of Appeal established in 1797, only one sentence was reversed. "A Court of Commissioners for trying petty causes" existed, and in the country districts the Landdrost and Heemraden administered justice.*

The Burgher Senate of Cape Town was an important board (consisting of six members), to whom the management of municipal affairs was committed. The streets, however, were in such a bad condition in 1795 as scarcely to be passable with safety, but by means of a small assessment were subsequently put in good repair.

Referring to the condition of the people, Barrow says:—"The free inhabitants of Cape Town, let their condition be what it may, are too proud or too lazy to engage in any

* Mr. Borchers (*Autobiography*, p. 186) thus refers to the Landdrost and Heemraden of Stellenbosch:—"The board consisted of the Landdrost, as President, and six resident notable burghers and inhabitants. Two of the Heemraden, the seniors, retired annually, and four were nominated for the vacancies, out of whom the Governor elected the two new members. The Heemraden were subject to a fine of five rix-dollars for non-attendance." In vendue claims the highest sum that could be sued for in this Court was 300 rix-dollars. For duties of field-cornets, see Ordinance of October, 1805, drawn up by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Truter. For a full description of a meeting of the Landdrost and Heemraden, and their manner of conducting proceedings, see *Borchers's Autobiography*, p. 188.

manual labour; and two-thirds of them owe their subsistence to the feeble exertions of their slaves.* The most active and docile, but at the same time the most dangerous slaves were the Malays. The vine-growers, or wine-boers, were a class of people who to the blessings of plenty added a sort of comfort which was unknown to the rest of the peasantry. They had the best houses and most comfortable estates. The corn-boers mostly occupied loan farms, and though many of them were in good circumstances, held a lower rank than the wine-farmers. Graziers resident in the more remote parts of the Colony were, as might be expected, the least advanced in civilization.

The establishment of the Lombard Bank by the Dutch East India Company has been ascribed to the declining condition of their credit and influence. One million rix-dollars of paper currency was issued and lent on mortgage, under authority of the Commissioners, in 1792. A clear annual revenue in the shape of interest was thus at once secured, and when sums lent were returned, the currency, which represented the amounts, was retained instead of being cancelled. When Suffren visited the Cape, so badly was money required for the construction of military defences that even plate and silver had to be

* Barrow's remarks upon Cape society are by no means flattering (see *Travels*, p. 98, *et seq.*) This writer took a wife (Miss Truter) from among the Cape ladies, and writes of them in the following strain:—"It has been the remark of most visitors, that the young ladies of the Cape are pretty, lively, and good-humoured. The difference, indeed, in the manners and appearance of the young men and the young women in the same family is inconceivably great." He recounts their accomplishments, and refers to the aptitude with which, as regards the fashions, they

"Catch the manners living as they rise."

The ladies were extremely tenacious of their rank in church. "More quarrels have arisen about ladies taking precedency in the church, or placing their chairs nearest the pulpit, than on any other occasion." Lord Macartney had once to interpose his authority and settle a dispute, by adopting the decision of the Emperor Charles V., "Let the greatest simpleton of the two have the *pas*." After that, each lady strove to give way to the other.

borrowed from the inhabitants, as well as recourse made to a stamped paper circulation.

One institution of which Mr. Barrow speaks in terms of encomium is the Orphan Chamber, established for the management of the estates of orphans, minors, and of people who died intestate. All property passing under the administration of this board suffered a reduction of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whereas, if left to private executors 5 per cent. had to be paid to them and 5 per cent. to Government on the public vendue.

The Dutch Reformed religion was established, and other sects were barely tolerated. The German Lutherans experienced great difficulty in obtaining permission to build a church, and in the first instance were neither allowed a steeple nor a bell. The Methodists had a chapel, while the Malay Mahommedans, not being allowed to erect a mosque, performed their services in stone quarries close to the town. In 1798 the revenue of the Dutch Church in Cape Town was £22,168 8s. 8d., and out of this amount £1,112 17s. was given to the poor. The Lutheran income for the same period amounted to £14,829 13s. 2d., and the poor fund was £194 9s. 2d. So far back as the year 1743, Baron Imhoff had urged the necessity of stationing clergymen throughout the country, which caused the erection, shortly afterwards, of churches at Roodezand (Tulbagh) and Zwartland (Malmesbury). In 1788 several persons engaged to give religious instruction to the heathen,* and in 1799 the South African Missionary Society was established.

The 1st of March, 1803, was kept as a solemn day of

* See *S. A. Tydschrift*, vol. i., page 25. In 1792 the Government proposed the establishment of public schools in the country districts. Mr. Borchers, in his *Autobiography*, page 182, speaks of slaves having been instructed in Stellenbosch on Sundays. "Several," however, "were in the habit of spending their Sabbath in working in their gardens or in other labour." At page 197 he says: "I know when yet young that religious instruction was given in the evening even to the slaves belonging to the household, particularly by a Mr. Frans Roos, of Moddergat, Hamman of Stellenbosch, Roux, and others."

thanksgiving for peace and the restoration of the Cape to the Dutch. On this occasion Commissary-General De Mist granted an amnesty, promised a charter, and expressed enlightened views respecting the future administration of the Colony. The practice of engaging Hottentots as free servants under printed contracts was introduced by a Proclamation dated the 9th of May following. In June, Governor Janssens set out on a tour throughout the Colony. This officer entered into a treaty with the Chief Gaika, but was quite unable to settle the differences then existing among the Kafirs. He met the notorious Klaas Stuurman at Algoa Bay,* to whom he made presents and granted lands.†

So early as September, 1803, apprehensions were entertained of a war in Europe, and a militia was enrolled. The Burgher Senate at the same time called upon all able men in Cape Town to form themselves into a local corps. In October, Commissary-General De Mist issued a

* A monthly post was established from Cape Town to Algoa Bay in 1803.

† General Janssens found everything in confusion at Graaff-Reinet. Lichtenstein, who accompanied him, says :—"The chest of the district was empty, the books of accounts were in the most lamentable disorder, the public buildings were destroyed, and presented nothing but a sad monument of crimes; the most important posts were filled by people wholly ignorant and devoid of capacity;" the disorderly populace displayed "a reciprocal irreconcilable spirit of discord and enmity towards each other. Their wholly perverted ideas of right and wrong, their extravagant notions with regard to liberty, their total want of true religious feeling (though making much external profession of piety), their perfect ignorance, in short, of all the social virtues, had placed them in a most unfortunate situation both for themselves and the Government." A large number of Boers had emigrated, many farms were desolate, while the Kafirs occupied a considerable portion of the division. General Janssens appointed a very efficient officer (Mr. Stockenstrom, Secretary of the Swellendam District) to be Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet. The Governor apparently did his best to reconcile differences among the inhabitants, and to establish peace and concord. The request of the border farmers, that the Hottentots belonging to Van der Kemp's missionary establishment should be seized, chained, and distributed as slaves (see Dr. Philip's *Researches*, vol. i., page 90), had, of course, been promptly refused. Dr. Van der Kemp was a

proclamation urging the duty of an effective armed resistance in case of attack, and persons who had served in the Army and Navy were ordered to appear before a Special Commission. To raise funds, the places "Rustenburg" and "Paradys," near Cape Town, were offered for sale, and not long afterwards paper currency to the amount of £80,000 had to be issued. After the declaration of war, General Janssens published an address, in which he impressively urged the inhabitants to defend the Colony, and promised that slaves lost in military service would be paid for.

Commissary-General De Mist left in February, 1805. During his residence he travelled through a portion of the Colony, and devoted his best attention to the trade and resources of the Settlement. Although the imminent prospect of war greatly interfered with his designs, he was

former schoolfellow and intimate friend of General Janssens, but the latter, while refusing to permit the persecution of the Hottentots, did not feel justified in giving much support to the Missionaries. Certainly lands (at Bethelsdorp, near Port Elizabeth) were granted, but these were considered barren and unproductive. The Moravian settlement at Baviaan's Kloof was named "Genadendal" (Grace Vale) at the Governor's suggestion. Several acts of cruelty committed upon Hottentots were detailed by Dr. Van der Kemp, of which the following is the most atrocious (see Barrow, vol. i., page 383):—"As soon as the English had abandoned the fort at Algoa Bay, a Boer named Ferreira, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession until a detachment of troops were sent thither by the Dutch. Meanwhile the Kafirs, considering that peace had been made between them and the European authorities, and being anxious to preserve it, sent the self-appointed commandant a bullock, to be slain in token of friendship. The Kafir messenger put himself under the guidance of a Hottentot; Ferreira (whether actuated by a vindictive desire to revenge some real or supposed injury, or solely by diabolical hatred towards the coloured race) laid hold of the Kafir, and broiled him alive, bound the poor Hottentot to a tree, cut a piece out of his thigh, made him eat it raw, and then released him." Ferreira was banished to Swellendam and the reason given for the punishment being so light was the difficulty of procuring sufficient evidence. The fairest way certainly would have been to bring the man to trial. As this was not done, no judicial proof of Ferreira's guilt exists, and the story may be a gross exaggeration or a complete falsehood.

enabled to effect much more than could have been expected. A system of government far superior to that of the Company was established, excellent instructions for public boards and departments were issued, and several laws of importance prepared.* It had been found expedient to create a new division between the village of Graaff-Reinet and the sea, on which the name of Uitenhage (a barony of Mr. De Mist's in Holland) was conferred. Another separate division, called Tulbagh, was formed in the Western part of the Colony.

It was Mr. Commissary De Mist who granted Van Riebeeck's heraldic arms to the Colony and caused them to be publicly introduced at the Town-house, Cape Town, on the 2nd July, 1804. The Burgher Senate observed this day with solemnity, and assembled at an early hour. The Commissary-General and the Governor were escorted in state to the Town-house. Trumpets sounded while the heraldic emblem† were exposed, a salute of 21 guns was fired, and the Senate subsequently entertained the chief officials‡ at a sumptuous banquet. On this occasion Mr De Mist, alluding to the gratitude due by colonists to the first

* One of the last regulations prepared by Mr. De Mist was one relating to Church matters. This Church Ordinance (July, 1804) was declared by the Synod of the Dutch Church in 1824 to contain their fundamental laws. He had already caused one regarding schools to be issued. Under instructions from this Commissioner an important law respecting the Courts of Landdrost and Heemraden, Field-cornets, &c., was framed. It consisted of 328 articles, and was published in November, 1805. Several useful institutions and improvements can be traced to this period. The scholastic institute, "Tot nut van het Algemeen," was established. The *Kaapsche Courant* makes mention of the first post wagon being run between Cape Town and Stellenbosch by order of the Burgher Senate.

† The arms consist of three golden rings on a red field, resting on an anchor.

‡ The following are the names of the principal establishments under the Batavian Government:—Governor, Court of Policy, Councillor Consulnt, Court of Justice, Attorney-General, Court of Appeal, South African School Commission, Committee to inquire and revise all Administrations, Chamber of Commerce, General Grain Committee, Committee to revise the Public Registry of Debts, Committee to

Governor, stated that he would have wished to name Cape Town *Riebeck's Town*, if it were not for reasons connected with trade.

On the 25th of December, 1805, an American vessel brought news that an English fleet, carrying troops, under the command of General Baird, had left Madeira for the East Indies. The Colonial forces were commanded to hold themselves in readiness, and a Hottentot contingent, 200 strong, was raised. On the 3rd of January, 1806, the manœuvres of a small brig were noticed, which had evidently been detached from the English fleet to make observations. On the next morning signals on the Lion Hill gave information that a formidable fleet was in sight, and in the evening it was known that fifty-nine sail had

compose a General Placaat, Colonial Chamber of Accounts, Chamber of Insolvent Estates, Bank of Loans, Surveyor, Receiver-General, &c., Burgher Senate, Wardmasters (51), six country Districts, viz., Stellenbosch (50 Field-cornetcies), Swellendam, Graaff-Reinet, Uitenhage, Tulbagh, under Landdrosts, assisted by Heemraden. The following summary of information, supplied by Mr. Borchers (*Autobiography*, p. 232 *et seq.*) concerning society, &c., in 1803, may be of interest. In the Keizers and Heerengracht (now Darling and Adderley-streets) were the residences of fashionable families. Canals, with sluices, ran along the streets. In seats and bowers, opposite the front door, it was not unusual to see the family enjoying themselves—the gentlemen with their pipes, the ladies by taking tea. Society was usually kept up by evening parties. Small circles of six or eight families were alternately formed and assembled in turn at their houses. Smoking, and playing d'ombre or *Quadrille*, were the favourite amusements of the gentlemen, whilst the ladies in a separate room engaged in fancy and other work. When the Castle gun fired at nine o'clock, they retired, and were borne home in sedan-chairs. Early rising was customary. Officials, &c., went to office between eight and nine o'clock. From eleven to twelve morning calls were made, when bitters, &c. (*amara* and others), were presented. Twelve to one or two was the general dinner time. An hour's repose after this was taken. Afterwards the most respectable and fashionable used to dress for either a drive in the country or to be prepared for evening society. The whole community was like one family. At the top of Government Gardens there was no outlet, but a large square, in which a menagerie was kept. In those days there were few balls, but amateur concerts and plays constituted the principal amusements. A club called the "Harmony" existed in Adderley-street.

anchored between Robben Island and Blaauwberg Strand. Signal guns were fired, and the available military and militia forces collected. Those consisted of the 22nd battalion Infantry of the Line, 5th of Waldeck, 1st Hottentot Light Infantry, 9th Jagers (Riflemen), 5th Artillery, one squadron of Light Dragoons, a small body of Horse Artillery for two pieces of cannon, a field train, and the Malay Artillery. This force was supplemented by burgher militia, and amounted in all to between two and three thousand men.*

The expedition under the command of Sir David Baird† had left Cork on the 2nd of September, 1805. The *King George*, transport, as well as the *Britannia*, East India-man, were wrecked, and Brigadier-General Yorke, Commandant of the Artillery, drowned, on a low sandy island called Roccas, in 3° 53' S. latitude, and 33° 54' W. longitude, and it was not till the 4th of January, 1806, that the fleet anchored off Table Bay. Early on the morning of the next day, General Beresford made an unsuccessful attempt to land, and the *Diomedé*, with the transports carrying the 38th Regiment, were consequently

* There was also a battalion of French seamen and marines, part of whom had been stranded in the *Atalanta*, frigate, during a heavy gale, and another portion driven ashore in the corvette *Napoleon*, by H.M.S. *Narcissus*, which had called at the Cape a few days before the arrival of the English fleet. It must be borne in mind, in connection with the defence of the Colony, that the Cape Town fortifications had been previously restored by the British, who had received them in an almost ruinous state in 1795. They comprised a chain of redoubts, connected by a parapet, with banquettes and a dry ditch, block-house, and open batteries—the whole mounted with 150 pieces of heavy ordnance and howitzers. The English Government had been informed that the militia and inhabitants generally looked with anxiety for the arrival of British troops. The instructions of Lord Castlereagh (dated 25th July, 1805) directed the General to lose no time, but to take the place by a vigorous and immediate attack.

† The naval force comprised the *Diadem*, *Raisonable*, and *Belliqueux*, each of 64 guns; *Diomedé*, 50; *Narcissus* and *Leda*, each 32 guns. The land force included the 24th, 38th, 59th, 71st, 72nd, 83rd, and 98th Regiments of Foot, and 20th Light Dragoons, besides Artillery, Engineers, and East India Company's recruits.

dispatched to Saldanha Bay. The entire fleet would have followed had not the Highland Brigade been successful in effecting a landing about six miles to the southward, in Sospiras Bay. A few shots from the gun-brigs dislodged the Dutch riflemen, and the only serious accident was the loss of a boat containing 40 men of the 93rd Regiment, which was upset in the surf. The remainder of the troops disembarked on the 7th of January, as well as 500 sailors, who volunteered to drag the guns across the sands. At four o'clock on the morning of the 8th, the army marched over the Blaauwberg, and when on the crest of the hill was formed into echelons of brigade, with the Highlanders about 200 yards in advance. The Dutch army was drawn up in order of battle, and their artillery, consisting of twenty field-pieces, posted considerably in front, opened fire. General Baird commenced the action by dispatching the Grenadiers of the 24th Regiment to dislodge a body of Mounted Riflemen—a service which they performed with intrepidity and serious loss. The main body continued to advance over a plain densely covered with heath and prickly shrubs, and, through misconception of orders, began to fire before they were within killing distance. Meantime General Janssens rode along the Dutch line, earnestly entreating the men to do their duty, and was received with cheering, in which the Battalion of Waldeck, who occupied the centre, were observed to join very faintly. A few shells shortly afterwards fell among these troops, and caused them to take to flight. The General determined to make the best stand he could without them, but soon saw to his dismay that the men of the 22nd Battalion were retreating. Having in vain exhorted them to stand, so much confusion ensued that a hasty retreat had to be made.* As the British troops were fatigued with a march of six hours over scorching sands, after having been

* According to Martin's *British Colonies*, large edition, vol. iv., p. 44, the British force (exclusive of troops sent to Saldanha Bay) actually on the field was 4,000, while the colonial forces were about 5,000 strong. For an account of the Battle of Blaauwberg by an eye-witness (Capt. Carmichael) see Appendix.

cooped up on board ship for five months, they were in no condition to pursue the enemy, so that General Janssens was able to retire without difficulty. Having ordered the Waldeck Battalion to return to Cape Town, he retreated with the remainder of his forces to Hottentots Holland Kloof (now Sir Lowry's Pass). The loss on both sides during the battle is conjectured to have been between 300 and 500 men. On the next morning General Baird marched to Cape Town, and was within only a few miles of it when a flag of truce, requesting a cessation of hostilities for forty-eight hours, was received. In reply, the inhabitants were informed that unless the town was surrendered within six hours it would be entered by storm during the night. This threat had the desired effect, and the 59th Regiment were allowed to march in that evening and take possession of the lines. The rest of the troops, with the exception of the Highland Brigade, which was sent to Wynberg, marched in next day, and at three o'clock the British flag was hoisted on the Castle, and a Royal salute fired. The Highland Brigade and the 59th Regiment were sent to Stellenbosch and Paarl* on the 12th, and Sir David Baird followed in a few days with the view of attacking the Dutch troops. General Janssens, finding his force reduced by desertion and other causes to above five hundred strong, was compelled to open a correspondence with the British General Beresford. This led to an honourable capitulation, executed at Hottentot's Holland on the 18th January, 1806, in the presence of Sir John Truter and Mr. J. C. Smyth, ultimately ratified

* Captain Carmichael, who wrote an account of Sir David Baird's expedition (published in *Hooker's Botanical Miscellany*), says:—"On our arrival" (in the Paarl) "we found the people prodigiously civil. Every door was thrown open for our reception, and several of the inhabitants carried their kindness so far as to send even to the Parade to invite us to their houses. Some of our speculators ascribed this marked hospitality to fear, while others, inclined to judge more favourably of human nature, imputed it to general benevolence of disposition. Those who suspended their opinion on the subject had the laugh at the expense of both, when, on our departure next morning, the true motive was discovered in the amount of their bills."

by Sir David Baird, Major-General and Commander-in-Chief, and Sir Home Popham, Commodore commanding the Naval Forces. The Dutch troops were to march to Simon's Bay within three days, with their guns, arms, and baggage. Treasure and public property to be delivered up. According to the capitulation of Cape Town Castle and fortifications, the garrison was to march out with the honours of war, and be provided with passage to Europe at the expense of the British Government. Burghers and other inhabitants were confirmed in their rights and privileges, paper money was to remain current until instructions from England could be received, the oath of allegiance had to be taken by the principal inhabitants. Thus ended the second period of Dutch rule, which Mr. Justice Watermeyer truly remarks "was most beneficial to the Colony, and furnishes a great contrast to the misrule of the East India Company." An endeavour has been made to extract an excuse for the conduct of Sluysken in 1795, from Janssens' want of success in 1806. But no fault whatever can be attributed to the latter Governor, who neither wanted ability nor courage; whereas Sluysken was clearly deficient in both, besides acting in such a manner as to expose himself to the charge of treason.

Sir David Baird acted with ability and vigour. The 83rd Regiment was dispatched to Mossel Bay to cut off the enemy from approaching Swellendam. No time for any organized disaffection was permitted. The promptitude with which Cape Town was threatened, and preparations made for an attack on General Janssens, had been rewarded, as we have seen, by complete success. No sooner had the Dutch troops left than it became necessary to provide against a possible attack from a French fleet under the command of Admiral Villeaumez. This officer, however, having learnt the conquest of the settlement, altered his course and sailed to the West Indies.

In order to prevent a scarcity of food, all grain duties were repealed, and a new law made providing that Government should store wheat to be purchased at fixed rates. Many farmers brought forward concealed supplies,

and prices consequently fell. Sir David Baird caused a corps of Hottentot infantry to be formed, who were afterwards named the "Cape Mounted Rifles," and appointed Mr. Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld to be*

* Mr. Olof Godlieb de Wet was President of the British Court of Justice, and Mr. Van Ryneveld afterwards succeeded to this office, and when Lord Caledon established Circuit Courts in 1811, was President of the first Circuit. At his death, in 1812, it was stated in the *Government Gazette*—"The public will learn, with the deepest sorrow, the decease, on Friday, 14th of August, of W. S. van Ryneveld, Esq., President of the Court of Justice, Orphan Chamber, &c. The unrivalled qualities of this respected Magistrate and virtuous man were so well known that it does not require more than to state his death to draw from every voice the acknowledgment of his irreparable loss to this Colony." The most emphatic panegyric follows, with such expressions as the following:—"Merit so various and alike conspicuous will ever remain the boast and pride of the Cape of Good Hope. Such were his gifts from nature, the greatness of his mind, and the goodness of his heart, he wanted not the aid of travel." Mr. Borchers, a contemporary (in his *Autobiography*, page 283), joins in his praise. Yet the following severe epitaph was written on Judge Ryneveld by a resident at Cape Town, and is to be found quoted in a *Reply to the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry*, by Mr. Bishop Burnet, p. 17 of Appendix.

"Here lies in death, who living always lied,
A base amalgam of deceit and pride;
A wily African of monstrous shape,
The mighty Quinibus Flestrin of the Cape.
Rogue, paramount ten thousand rogues among,
He rose, and shone like phosphorus from dung;
The wolf and fox their attributes combined
To form the odious features of his mind.
Where kennelled deep, by shame, by fear unawed,
Lurked rapine, villainy, deceit, and fraud—
Hypocrisy, servility, and lust,
A petty tyrant, and a judge unjust.
Partial and stern in every cause he tried,
He judged like Pilate, and like Pilate died.
Urged to despair by crimes precluding hope,
He chose a bullet to avoid a rope.
Consistent knave! his life in cheating past,
He shot himself to cheat the law at last.
Acme of crimes, self-murder crowned the whole,
And gave to worms his corpse—to fiends his soul."

Mr. Burnet was charged with composing this "epitaph;" but in a copy of "the Reply" (in the possession of one of the writers of this History) occurs the following words, written in pencil by Sir R. S. Donkin:—"There was no man at the Cape in my time capable of

Vice-President of the newly-constituted Court of Justice, in addition to being His Majesty's Fiscal and Attorney-General. The Chamber for regulating insolvent estates was also reformed on a reduced scale, and Mr. Rhenius

writing anything so pointed as *this*, and it is certainly not by B. Burnet, the author of *this*." It would answer no good purpose to publish the faults and crimes of Cape notables, nor is it our intention to do so. The above lines seemed worthy of insertion because of their evident merit, and as furnishing (rather strongly, certainly) an *alterem partem* to the panegyrics of the *Government Gazette*. It has been stated by a correspondent to a colonial newspaper that the writer of the above epitaph was a convict. This statement is perfectly untrue. The authors know to whom reference is made and are aware that it was impossible the person in question could have written it.

As illustrative of slave life, and conveying some important information, *if true*, the following summary of the history of Josephine Focus (taken down by a notary at Cape Town, and published in the Appendix to Burnet's "Reply") may be interesting. Our readers must judge for themselves as to its truth:—"My master was Mr. Truter, Secretary to the Batavian Colonial Government, and I was employed as nurse in his family. When a signal was made that there was an English fleet off the Cape, my master, being first civil officer of the Governor, immediately, with six slaves, set about removing a great number of boxes and bags of Spanish dollars from the Treasury into his own apartments, and in the night, before the English were landed, distributed them in the houses of his friends." This slave having informed upon her master, "himself and family were kept in custody until he restored all the money." She was sent back to Mr. Truter's house, where she was roughly treated, and afterwards placed in prison, where "I was flogged every second day of the first three months, so as the blood often, splashing from the repeated strokes, sprinkled my neck." Eventually, this woman was bought by a farmer, who was ordered to make her lead his oxen. He treated her well, however. Towards the end of the deposition, several charges are made against Mr. Truter, and it is stated:—"My cruel master has advanced through all the gradations of power and honour. . . . He has since been appointed Chief Justice of the Colony. . . . I am christened, and allowed to approach the altar of my Maker, whilst my heart is rent with the knowledge that my children are denied this blessing. They are obliged to follow their mistresses on each Sabbath; they are bound to wait in the street until the service is concluded, when they bear back the proud mistress' stool and the blessed Book, the record of our Lord's humbleness."

The last public sale of imported negro slaves was authorized by Government in 1806.

appointed Political Commissioner for Church Affairs. Relays of Hottentot runners were stationed at the houses of farmers on great routes to convey the mail bags; and these primitive postal arrangements were placed under the direction of Mr. William Caldwell, "deputy post-master." In March of this year (1806) a severe public punishment was inflicted upon a man named Cornelis Maas, who had caused the greatest alarm by positively assuring the Governor that he himself had seen an enemy's fleet at Saldanha Bay, and even conversed with several of the officers. Upon this information being proved to be thoroughly false, Maas was flogged at the cart's tail round Cape Town, and banished from the Colony, while an order was issued by General Baird, intimating that in future false reports would be punished by death, or such other chastisement as a general court-martial should award. Colonial affairs having been placed in a comparative state of order, Sir David Baird left Cape Town in the transport *Paragon* on the 24th of January, 1807,* having delivered over the Government to Lieutenant-General Grey, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces. In the addresses presented to His Excellency from the Court of Justice, Burgher Senate, and other public boards, Sir D. Baird is informed, "By your wise and well-directed measures for our internal government, together with the unparalleled discipline of the troops under your Excellency's command, our rights have been guarded, and the whole Colony enjoys at this moment a state of tranquillity and plenty seldom or never realized."†

* After leaving the Cape, Sir D. Baird was appointed to the command of a division at the siege of Copenhagen. In 1808 he was sent to Spain, with 10,000 men, to assist Sir John Moore, and, after the death of that great General at the battle of Corunna, succeeded to the chief command. After this event, he received for the *fourth* time in his life the thanks of Parliament, and was created a Baronet. He died on the 18th August, 1829.

† Mr. Borchers, speaking of the events of this time, says:—"On the last day of the month (January, 1807) the instructions for vaccine inoculation were published. In April the first supreme Medical

In May, 1807, Du Prè, Earl of Caledon, was proclaimed Governor.* The efforts of this nobleman were earnestly directed to promote the welfare of the Colony, and to civilize the Hottentots, who were protected by the establishment of a system of written contracts and specific regulations. The number of slaves in the Colony had increased to an alarming extent, and the discontented among them appeared only to require a leader to break out in open mutiny. Under these circumstances, a turbulent fellow named James Hooper found no difficulty in persuading a Cape Town slave named Louis, with whom he lived, to commence an insurrectionary movement. Another slave (Abraham) and Michael Kelly, a white man, joined the conspirators. Louis, by Hooper's advice, dressed himself in a gaudy blue and red uniform, with epaulets, sword, and ostrich plumes. Having hired a wagon under false pretences, they proceeded in the first instance to the farm of a Mr. Louw, resolving to incite all the coloured people to rebellion and subsequently return to Cape Town, storm a battery, and demand the liberty of all slaves; Louis to be chief Governor of the blacks, and Hooper to enjoy a high official situation. After leaving

Committee of three physicians were appointed, and their instructions published. In this year (1807) a Court of Appeal in civil cases and Vice-Admiralty Court were appointed. In June the small-pox made its appearance; the powder magazine was broken into; and policemen were employed to convey mails to the interior. In November the first tenders were invited for delivery of forage for the Colony instead of the usual assessment of the farmers. This was to them a great relief. To encourage the production of wool, the Agricultural Commission offered for sale a great number of Bastard Spanish rams at Groenekloof. The first and only wagon-load of wool, in 1808, was brought in by Hillebert Muller, of Swellendam, and realized 670 rds. A Court of Appeal for criminal cases was established this year, and in April, 1808, the Cape District was formed, and Landdrost and Heemraaden appointed to it. Mr. T. Tom was the first Landdrost.

* Andrew Barnard, Esq., was appointed Secretary to Government and Registrar of the Records. The talented and hospitable Lady Ann Barnard, who will be long remembered at the Cape, was the wife of this gentleman. The beautiful song, "Auld Robin Gray," has been ascribed to her pen.

Mr. Louw's place, where they were treated civilly, and did no damage, they went to Mr. Basson's farm, where they stated that it was the Governor's and Fiscal's orders that all Christians and slaves should be taken by them to Cape Town. Guns and powder were violently seized. Having pinioned Mr. Basson (Mrs. Basson with a Miss Smit fortunately escaped), they advanced with twelve wagons and four saddle-horses, and committed robberies, as well as other acts of violence and outrage, at several farms. At last their numbers increased so much that, formed into two divisions, they boldly marched through Koeberg and Tygerberg, and then to a rendezvous at Salt River, seizing upon horses, arms, and ammunition, binding farmers, and inciting the slaves to insurrection.* When Lord Caledon heard of the rebellion, he immediately ordered out detachments of cavalry and infantry, who, acting more as constables than soldiers, and meeting with no resistance, had merely to apprehend the insurgents and lodge them in gaol. Wagons, horses, and guns were, as far as possible, returned to their owners, and fifty-one prisoners† out of three hundred and thirty-one were brought to trial and convicted; but ultimately the utmost clemency was extended, so that only seven were executed, seventeen sentenced to hard labour for various periods, and a large number to minor punishments. The sentence of death passed on both Hooper and Kelly was suspended, and the latter sent to England, "to await His Majesty's pleasure."

* Mr. Borchers says (*Autobiography*, p. 294):—"From some places they carried the masters bound, from others unbound, in the charge of armed blacks; at other places they distributed wine among the people. Several farmers suffered severely, and the most, one Mr. Christian Storm, of whom not a single slave joined the insurgents, but concealed themselves in the bushes." They seized Mr. Storm and flung him almost naked into a wagon. Mr. Adriaan Louw, a man upwards of seventy years old, they ill-treated in the highest degree, laying hold of him by his hair, giving him a blow with the butt end of a musket on his head, and beating him with a sword.

† Two Europeans, one Hottentot, and forty-eight slaves.

CHAPTER X.

Retrospective account of relations with Kafir Races—Kafir Laws, Customs, Polity, Religion—First contact of Europeans with Kafirs—Early Conflicts—Commandoes—Commando under Maynier—Disturbances of 1793—Subsequent Conflicts—Colonel Collins appointed Special Commissioner—His report—War of 1811-12—Commissions of Circuit—Bethelsdorp Missionaries—Case of Fredrik Beznidenhout—Lord Charles Somerset—Wreck of the *Amsterdam*—War of 1817-1819.

It is now necessary to give a retrospective glance at the relations of the colonists towards the Kafir tribes, and before doing so it seems desirable to glance briefly at the origin, laws, customs, and history of a race which has exercised a very powerful influence on South Africa. In the case of barbarians who possess no record, it is impossible to trace their history anterior to the period when they came into contact with civilization, and the secret of their origin must always be enveloped in mystery. The Kafir race is no exception. It is known certainly that they first arrived near the Kei River in the seventeenth century; but whence they came originally, or why they migrated, is unknown. Of course numerous conjectures have been made, and one of the latest writers* is of opinion that if there be a parent dialect of the Kafir language, it may probably be found amongst the tribes which occupy the interior regions to the south or the south-west of Abyssinia. On many accounts, it has been argued, there are good grounds for supposing that they are of Ishmaelitish descent, and consequently that they are of the same origin as many of the tribes of Arabia.† The word Kafir is derived

* Rev. W. Appleyard—*Notes to Kafir Grammar*, pp. 7 and 8.

† But Holden (*History of the Kafir Races*) says:—"After deep and long-continued inquiry and investigation, my opinion is that the entrance of the different races into Africa is much more remote than any attempted to be assigned to it in relation to either Abraham or Ishmael." It is argued against the theory of the Arabian origin of the Kafir tribes

from the Arabic “*Kāfir*,” an unbeliever, and is the term given by the Portuguese at Mozambique to designate the inhabitants of the vast region extending from their settlements to the country of the Hottentots—now the Cape Colony. As a great family of the human race, the “*Kafir*” is classed by Dr. Latham in Division B of the variety *Atlantidæ* (modified Negro physical conformation), and made to include—1. Tribes Amatabele, Amazulu, north of Natal; Amaponda, Amaxosa, &c., &c., in Kaffraria; 2. Makololo, north, and Bakuku, north-west of Lake Ngami; as also all the Bechuanas; 3. Ovampos and Damaras, speaking the Ovampo or Otjiherero and its dialects, inhabiting the south-west African coast.

Our business, of course, is only with the Kafir tribes who border on the Cape Colony. These were probably at one time all identical, although now split up into numerous sections. It has been considered by some writers that they can conveniently be divided into two great families or nations, independent of each other, and known by the respective names of Amakosae (*Ama* signifies *tribe*), or Kafirs proper, and Amatembu, or Tambookies,—the former, a ferocious race who were found inhabiting the Colonial possessions from the Stormberg to the estuary of the Keiskamma River, and the latter comparatively mild and inoffensive people who occupied a northerly or inland position. The Rev. H. H. Dugmore* believes that the Kafirs, Fingoes, and Bechuanas are the offshoots of some common stock. Taking the dialect spoken by the Kafir border tribes as the starting point, and proceeding eastwards through the Amatembu and Amapondo till we reach

that had they immigrated from beyond the sea, the art of navigation could hardly have been lost by them. We have also on record that “the Arabs first settled on the Eastern coast called Encoyadi, that is subject to Zaida, who built two considerable towns to secure them against the Kafirs; others followed from the Persian Gulf, but they (the ‘Arabs’) never passed Cape Corrientes.”

* In a *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, page 8, the contribution of the Rev. H. Dugmore shows in very clear language the polity and customs of that people. There are also valuable papers by Mr. Warner, Tambookie Agent, and other gentlemen.

those spoken by the Zulus and Fingoes, he says that we find a gradual approximation to some of the dialects of the Basuto and Bechuana tribes. The common origin of the Kaffrarian tribes is much less a matter of conjecture. Many of the tribal distinctions obtaining amongst them are of very recent date, and have arisen from a peculiarity in the law of succession to the Chieftainship. The principal divisions of Amaxosa, Abatembu, and Amapondo are of earlier formation, although probably arising from the same cause. Nothing has had a greater effect upon the polity and government of the Kafir tribes than their peculiar law of succession, which permits of perpetual division; by the eldest son of the great wife succeeding to his father's dignity, while the eldest son of the "right hand" wife is constituted the head of a certain allotted portion of the tribe. The Great Chief Gaika introduced the custom of appointing *three* of the Chief's sons to rule over separate portions of the tribe, and this innovation tended still more to increase the number of petty rulers over petty clans. This system is the cause of disorganization and discord, while it often leaves weak tribes of native races at the mercy of powerful neighbours.

It is a mistake to speak of the despotic government of Kafir Chiefs—so far at least as the Amaxosa and Amatembu tribes are concerned. Their government is an admixture of feudalism with Patriarchal customs. The Amapakati (middle ones) or council is a powerful check upon arbitrary power, composed of subjects who, by their courage or abilities, have proved their fitness to advise. They give military service whenever called upon, and in return are invested with civil jurisdiction in their respective neighbourhoods and receive a considerable share of the spoils obtained in war. Each of them has his own followers and partizans, whom he shields to the best of his ability. The operation of the law of succession has called into existence many tribes of nearly equal power, and it is very customary for persons who have incurred the anger of their own chief to fly for refuge to a neighbouring tribe. So soon as they

have arrived, no violent interference is permitted, and they are perfectly safe until an investigation can take place. Generally a culprit is allowed to remain peaceably in the tribe to which he has fled for refuge.

The most striking feature in the administration of justice is that every crime is punished by a fine. *Persons* are the property of the Chief, and consequently the penalties for acts of personal violence and murder are received by him. In *civil* cases only the party injured obtains the penalty. The *regular* resources of Government are fines, presents extorted during friendly visits, and the plunder consequent on warlike excursions. It is absolutely necessary in order that a Chief become powerful, that he should in the first place make himself popular, and acts of glaring oppression rarely occur except when the Councillors support their leader in hope of getting a considerable share of the spoil. Besides the local government of each tribe, there is a nominally and loosely-constructed general government supposed to be exerted by the Chief and Council of the tribe first in hereditary rank, but this is only exercised in cases of appeal, and on subjects unconnected with internal tribal government.

Many grave errors are noticeable in the Kafir system. The legislative, judicial, and executive departments are confounded. Justice cannot be efficiently administered, as there is no code of laws to appeal to, or be guided by, and there is no fixed constitution or system of legislation. Lawless and predatory habits are constantly fostered, and the desire of gain and the prospect of revenge are the two ruling passions of the natives.

Like all other savages, their religion is a vile superstition which degrades women to the lowest level, while their social system classes her amongst beasts of burthen and the goods and chattels of her master. Polygamy, of course, is universally allowed, and under a system of purchase the number of wives bears proportion to the wealth of the husband. Concubinage is permitted, and the vilest and most degrading immorality prevails. No idea of purity or virtue is permitted to exist, and customs which cannot

be mentioned still prevail in close proximity to Christian mission stations and to a British Colony.*

The Kafir superstitions are well defined, and exercise such a powerful influence, that until they are rooted out there is no chance of missionary efforts being successful, and there is constant danger of war with Europeans. Many of their religious rites are conducted in such secrecy as to be completely unknown, and their witch doctors ought more correctly to be styled priests who offer sacrifice† and carry on the nefarious business of their religion. It is by these miscreants that men are “smelt out” and put to death with lingering torture for alleged witchcraft, and they it is who are made the tools of designing chiefs to keep up continual hostility to Europeans and urge their people to acts of war and plunder. The Kafirs believe in a Supreme Being, but most of their rites are connected with the worship of their deceased ancestors, whose ghosts they endeavour to propitiate. Christianity has made no real impression upon them and missionary efforts are a failure. In the words of Mr. Warner,‡ than whom there is no one better qualified to speak, “The Gospel has been preached to them for the last fifty years, and some attempts have been made towards civilizing them; but the Kafirs, nationally considered, remain just as they ever were; no visible difference can be discerned. They are as perfectly heathen now as they were in the days of

* Mr. Warner says—“Marriage among the Kafirs has degenerated into slavery.” “Seduction is not punishable by Kafir law, nor *does any disgrace attach to it.*”

† Mr. Warner says that their great national sacrifice and ceremony is the “*ukukafula*,” when the priest makes the army invulnerable. The shoulder of the sacrificial beast is skinned and cut off while the wretched animal is still alive. Charms of wood and roots are thrown upon the coals with it, and eventually each man bites off a mouthful of the flesh and then passes it on to the next. In the case of a sacrifice the blood must be caught in a vessel, and the bones burned.

‡ The notes of Mr. Warner, Tambookie Agent, published in the Government Compendium, p. 107. Sir George Grey’s policy was to destroy the power of the witch doctors, and unless this be done the colony can never be secure.

Van der Kemp; and so they ever will continue so long as their political government continues to exist in its present Pagan form."

The earliest record in our Colonial archives regarding Kafirs refers to a journey said to have been performed by shipwrecked mariners from Rio de la Goa to the Cape in 1683; but the first authentic account of the contact of Europeans with natives is to be found in the narrative of an expedition made by Colonial farmers into the interior in the year 1684.* These men were authorized to exchange tobacco and brandy for sheep and oxen. They were attacked by Kafirs, and easily repulsed them by means of fire-arms, which the natives had never before seen. They penetrated to the Kafir country eastward of the Sundays River, and travelled as far as Commadagga in the immediate vicinage of the junction of the Little and Great Fish Rivers. At this time the Gouna or Gonacqua nation of Hottentots (Heykoms) dwelt in the country near the sources of the Kat, Koonap, Chumie, and Kieskamma Rivers. The next record to which we can refer is a despatch sent to Holland in 1702, in which mention is made of predatory warfare carried on between Colonial freebooters and natives in a portion of the Kafir country probably situated near the Buffalo River. To judge by their own traditions, the Kafirs had very recently arrived there, as Gonde, the son of Toguh and grandson of Ookesomo (the remotest ancestor remembered), is stated to have reached the Kei (our present Colonial boundary on the east) about the year 1676, and his brothers established themselves between the Buffalo and Chalumna Rivers some years afterwards. The year 1760 is, however, generally admitted to be about the time when the Kafirs began seriously to effect conquests and establish themselves in the country to the westward of the Kei. So recently as

* *Waare Relation und Beschryving van Cabo de Goede Hoop und deselber Natuurluher Inwoonderen, natuur gebranchen thun und wesen nebst heisigin landes gervaschen und den Zahmen und wilden gedierten, durch Johan Daniel Butner.* Dessinian Collection, South African Library, Cape Town.

1775, the Hottentot Captain Ruyter's kraal was situated near the mouth of the Great Fish River, while in 1770 Patterson, the traveller, was surprised to meet two Kafirs to the eastward of the Sundays River, "for they seldom venture so far from their own country." He reached the first Kafir kraal when he arrived at the Beka, fifteen miles beyond the Great Fish and seventeen miles from the Keiskamma River. Thunberg* (1770) says the Hottentots and Kafirs lived promiscuously near the Gamtoos River, "the real Kaffraria beginning several miles up country;" and Alberti,† Landdrost of Uitenhage, writing in 1802, remarks that Palo, the great grandfather of Hintza, Buchu, and Gaika, was the sovereign of a great people living eastwards of the river Kei, and that this river was the boundary between the Kafirs and the Settlement. Two migratory streams were setting towards the Eastern Districts, one composed of Kafirs proceeding from the east, and the other of colonists coming from the westward. Fierce and warlike savages, whose chief occupation was pillage, necessarily came into contact with the Frontier farmers, and numerous sanguinary encounters took place.‡ In 1786 a verbal agreement was made with the Kafirs, providing that the Great Fish River should be considered the

* Vol. i., p. 203. † *De Kaffers*, p. 209.

‡ The following are extracts from Commandant A. van Jarsveld's *Report of the Expulsion of the Kafirs* (Records, page 110):—"1781, July 20. The Kafirs having, subsequently to the treaty, again moved in among our people, with all their property, it became of the most urgent necessity that resistance should be offered to this evidently impending violence. Having particularly inquired into all the messages from the Kafirs, as also into the molestation they had committed upon the farms by night, with occupying the farms, and taking away from them by force the faithful servants of the inhabitants, on the 1st of June I warned the nearest Captain. On the 2nd I found that the Kafirs had made no preparation to depart, and said they would not go. On this the interpreter, Karkotie, secretly warned me to be well on my guard, as he had heard the Kafirs encouraging each other to push in boldly among us and pretend to ask for tobacco. On the 6th we went to them for the third time, and they were again ready to push in among us with their weapons. As I clearly saw that if I allowed the Kafirs to make the first attack many must fall on our side, I hastily collected

Colonial boundary, and in the same year hostilities were commenced between the Colonists and an intruding mixed race named the Gonnas, when the celebrated Kafir Chief T'Slambie aided the former. The Chief of the Gonnas was slain, and the Kafirs reaped the entire advantage of victory. A desultory warfare followed, in which the Colonists were constantly plundered, and the Gonnas eventually driven out of the country. But the expelled tribe, after a brief interval, invaded the Frontier districts. Although this inroad was promptly reported to the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet (Mr. Woeke) no steps were taken to resist it, and Colonel Collins, reporting upon this subject, remarks :—"It is certain that, by having neglected to notice the invasion, he laid the foundation of all the misfortunes that have since befallen the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts."* Again in 1792 fresh disputes took place, and the barbarians fell upon the Colonists, and murdered them with indiscriminating fury. The farmers were forced to league together for mutual defence, and a system of commandos was the result. Abuses, no doubt, were frequently committed by these bands; but it is worthy of note that, under British rule, Major Dundas, Landdrost of Albany, testifies "that these bodies were never called out but under military order, and never followed stolen cattle into Kafirland but under military control." The general commando organized in 1793, in consequence of the outrages committed during the preceding year, so alarmed

all the tobacco the men had with them, and having cut it into small bits, I went about twelve paces in front and threw it to the Kafirs, calling them to pick it up; they ran out from amongst us, and forgot their plan. I then gave the word to fire, when the said three Captains and all their fencible men were overthrown and slain, and part of their cattle, to the number of 800, taken."

Cattle captured from Kafirs was distributed among farmers *pro rata*, in accordance with what had been stolen from them. Under this commando they got back 43 per cent. of their losses. A. C. Greyling says (Moodie, p. 112), "I served on Jarsveld's commando. We took about 2,200 cattle from the Kafirs on Naudé's Hoek, and killed, I think, 260 Kafirs. We afterwards took 1,800 cattle, and again 1,400."

* Collins' Report, 1809, Parliamentary Papers.

the Kafirs as to induce them to abandon the Zuurveld. The Graaff-Reinet portion of this commando was led by Landdrost Maynier,* who pushed on beyond the Great Fish River, and attacked a neutral Kafir tribe, supposing it to be a body of the enemy; and, having very injudiciously neglected to protect the Zuurveld during his absence, the Kafirs again took possession of it. On his return he effected a junction with the Swellendam commando, and found, as he might have expected, that his mismanagement and ideas of native policy had caused the greatest dissatisfaction. The Kafirs were now in the Colony, and the expedition had failed. Colonel Collins in his report remarks that "from this moment the authority of Government began to decline in the Eastern Districts, the inhabitants conceiving that, as it had not the power to protect, it was unable to punish." This officer declares that the causes of frequent dissensions were hunting excursions of the Boers into Kaffraria, trading, and improper treatment of native servants by Colonial farmers.

The capture of the Colony by the English, and the ignorance of the new rulers, served to strengthen the power of the Kafir Chiefs, and at last Congo returned insolent replies to the messengers of Landdrost Bresler (successor to Maynier), and, instead of departing according to agreement, advanced as far as the Sundays River, where he endeavoured to form an alliance with the Hottentots. Mr. Barrow's visit to the Frontier, and the illusory treaty with Gaika entered into by General Dundas in 1799, have already been referred to. This Chief was acknowledged to be paramount, and the Frontier line of the Great Fish River, which had been agreed upon in 1778, was again declared to be the boundary.

No sooner had General Dundas left, and the troops been withdrawn, than the Kafirs and associated Hottentots

* This Maynier (see also *ante*) in his replies to the interrogatories of the Commission of Inquiry, represented that the Boers made unfounded and exaggerated reports, in consequence of a desire to enrich themselves with the cattle that they were in the habit of taking from the Kafirs.

recommenced the plunder and devastation of the country. Maynier, who had been appointed Commissioner, proved totally unable to cope with the difficulties of his position, and at last was compelled to shut himself up in Graaff-Reinet, where he was attacked by the Boers, who were enraged with both his opinions and his conduct.* In 1802 a commando of farmers, under Tjaart van der Walt, attacked the enemy with vigour, and put them to rout; but this brave leader having been summoned to the Gamtoos River, where a number of Hottentots had overrun the country, was there unfortunately killed in action. Botha, his successor, was unequal to the task which had devolved upon him, and the commando soon dispersed. T'Slambie saw his opportunity and promptly availed himself of it. Kafir bands ravaged the country, and eventually General Dundas, on the eve of the surrender of the Colony to the Batavian Government, made an inglorious peace, providing that each Power should retain the cattle that had come into its possession. Thus Kafir aggression was liberally rewarded, and a foundation laid for future wars.

Under the Batavian Government, General Janssens made a treaty with the Kafirs at Sundays River, by which they engaged to respect the boundary; but this, like previous arrangements, was soon totally disregarded by the natives. The daily expectation of a British attack upon the Colony rendered it impossible to send troops for the defence of the Frontier.

David Stuurman, the Hottentot Chief, to whom lands had been allotted in 1803 at the Gamtoos River, was discontented with the gift, and took measures to increase his strength and gain an independent position by giving an asylum to people of his nation. He negotiated an offensive and defensive alliance with Congo, and harboured Gonna and Kafir delinquents in defiance of Colonial law. Two Hottentots who had deserted from service took shelter with Stuurman, and when the Field-cornet ordered him to

* Maynier was subsequently tried by a Commission, but managed to obtain a verdict of acquittal.

deliver them up, the reply was that if this officer attempted to enter the kraal with arms he would be fired on. Landdrost Cuyler subsequently summoned the Chief Stuurman, but, proving recusant, he was arrested and his kraal destroyed. Eventually, with his brother and two others, he was condemned to work in irons for life on Robben Island.*

The re-conquest of the Colony by Britain in 1806 inaugurated a policy of conciliation. The intruders in the Zuurveld were allowed to remain undisturbed and took advantage of this permission to advance as far west as the vicinity of Uitenhage. It would be uninteresting to give details of thefts by Kafirs and of the proceedings of commandos against them. One proclamation describes the natives as "irreclaimable, barbarous, and perpetual enemies," whilst the conduct of the Colonists is stated to have been unoffending. Thefts were so frequent that a law was made in 1807, providing that each Kafir detected in the act of stealing might be shot. In 1809 Colonel Collins, who had been appointed Commissioner for Frontier Affairs, not only recommended the expulsion of the Kafirs from the Colony, but that insurmountable obstacles should be raised to their return. He states that the contests previously carried on by the Settlers against the Kafirs failed of success chiefly because the former deemed the recovery of stolen cattle the principal object of war, when they ought to have considered nothing to be effected until the invaders had been driven beyond the Colonial boundary. At the same time he considered it absolutely necessary that the country out of which the barbarians were to be driven should be filled up by European emigrants, to whom small farms should be allotted, and who ought to have for their defence a strong militia force composed principally of Boers accustomed to border warfare. As the depredations of the Kafirs increased, and they showed themselves obstinately deter-

* From thence they escaped into Kafirland. Stuurman was afterwards recaptured, and sent to New South Wales. He died in the Sydney Hospital in 1830, a year before permission to return to his native land was granted through the intervention of General Bourke.

mined to retain a portion of the Colony to which they had neither right nor title, it was absolutely necessary to adopt strong measures for their expulsion. Mr. Stockenstrom (afterwards Lieutenant-Governor), one of the ablest and most humane of the Frontier authorities, even recommended a seizure of land to the eastward of the Great Fish River. In 1811-12 a large force of Military and Burghers, under Colonel Graham, destroyed the crops, burned the Kafir villages, and forced 20,000 natives to cross the Great Fish River. Had Gaika and the Kafirland Chiefs sided with T'Slambie and Congo, a very serious war would have been the result, but the Government took care to send the Landdrost of Graaff-Reinet (Mr. Stockenstrom) to assure the first-named Chief that no hostilities were intended either towards himself or his associates. When, in December, 1811, the Colonial forces entered the Zuurveld, the right division was commanded by Major Cuyler, the centre by Capt. Fraser (accompanied by the chief in command, Colonel Graham), and the left by the Landdrost, Stockenstrom. This last-named officer, desiring to confer with the Colonel, crossed the mountains accompanied by forty men, and, relying on his influence with the natives, rode up to a large party with the hope of persuading them to leave the country. The conference proceeded amicably for some time, till a messenger arrived with the intelligence that a portion of the British troops had attacked the Kafirs. An agitated discussion immediately arose amongst several natives who stood apart, the war-cry was raised, and the Landdrost, with fourteen of his companions, killed. The rest of the party, several of whom were wounded, escaped with the greatest difficulty.* It is unjust to attach any

* The chief instigators of this massacre were, according to the Rev. John Brownlee, some of the Amandankae tribe, many of whom, if we are to believe Kafir testimony, were massacred by the Dutch without any provocation.—See *Thompson's Southern Africa*, vol. ii., p. 338. Pringle (quoting from the Journal of Lieutenant Hart) states that during the war of 1811-12, "the Kafirs were shot indiscriminately, women as well as men, wherever found, and even though they offered no resistance; the females were killed unintentionally, because the Boers could not distinguish them from men among the bushes."

blame to the British Government for carrying out the advice of their Commissioner. The Kafirs were notorious robbers, who impoverished the farmers by constant thefts;* the boundary line had long before been distinctly defined to be the Great Fish River, and the Kafirs had no right to be on the Colonial side without a permission, which their own conduct had rendered it impossible to grant. As they had received ample warning, they had only themselves to blame for the destruction of their crops.† It was not till the year 1815 that the Burgher forces could be disbanded. In the meantime severe penalties were inflicted on any Kafir found within the Colony, a corps of Hottentots was raised, a strong line of posts formed along the Frontier, and Graham's Town‡ established as the head-quarters of the troops.§

* The humane Sir John Cradock describes the Kafirs as "a race of beings deaf to every reasonable proposal (however beneficial to themselves), and who only seemed to exist for the annoyance of their neighbours."

† From evidence to be found in Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Part i., pp. 176, *et seq.*, as well as statements made by Kay, Pringle, Brownlee, and others, it might be supposed that the Kafirs were an ill-used and persecuted people. *Audire alteram partem* is very necessary here. The Kafirs were invariably blood-thirsty robbers, and anything like concession was always imputed by them to weakness. The wars were forced on the Colony by the Kafir tribes. No doubt many errors and crimes were committed by Europeans, but the broad facts of the case are as stated.

‡ This name was given to show the Governor's respect to Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, through whose able and successful exertions the Kafirs had been expelled from the Zuurveld. The establishment of a military command on the Frontier led to greater regularity in the employment of this description of force, and from this date there is no excuse for the statement that Kafir wars were caused by "the lawless inroads of barbarized Boers." In order that the people of the Western Districts should assist in the war, they had to pay the commando tax, by means of which £45,750 were raised. (For particulars see Proclamation of 4th December, 1812.) Sir John Cradock styles the commando system "the true and constitutional defence of the Colony."

§ The village of Zwartberg, now Caledon, was founded in 1811; Graham's Town in 1812. Sub-Drostdys of Cradock and Clanwilliam were formed in 1813. Sir John Cradock gave the name of Albany to the Zuurveld in 1814. It was in 1813 that Spanish wool from the

Under Lord Caledon's government it was found absolutely necessary to establish an efficient administration of justice throughout the country districts. The Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden could only take cognizance of minor offences, and the vast extent of the divisions (especially those of Graaff-Reinet and Uitenhage) rendered recourse to these tribunals in many cases impossible. Two of the members of the Court of Justice were therefore appointed as "a Commission of Circuit," to hold a Court annually in each district. Mr. Justice Cloete, in referring to the subject, says :*—"But it cannot be denied, and experience soon showed, that justice, by being brought so much nearer to their homes, also brought to light various offences which had hitherto remained unexamined and unpunished ; and the very first circuit which proceeded through the Colony was furnished with a calendar containing between seventy and eighty cases of murders, aggravated assaults, and the like, which the missionaries, Dr. Van der Kemp and the Rev. J. Read, constituting themselves the protectors of the Hottentot race, deliberately brought forward and transmitted to the local Government as charges against the members of almost every respectable family on the Frontier."† Colonel Collins, when Commissioner, had certainly

interior was allowed to enter the Cape Town Market free. Dr. Burchell, the traveller, arrived at the Cape in 1810. The Missionary Campbell made his first journey in 1812. Dr. Latrobe arrived in 1815. Wesleyan Missions were first established in 1816. Worcester was founded that year.

* *Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, &c.* By the Hon. H. Cloete, LL.D., Recorder of Natal, afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

† The same writer states (page 11) :—"As a curious instance of the extent to which some of these informations had been received, and had been readily adopted by the missionaries, Van der Kemp and Read, without properly investigating them before bringing forward such serious criminal charges, I may mention that at Uitenhage a widow of one of the most respectable inhabitants in the district was tried on the charge of wilful murder, in having ordered a young Hottentot, some years before, to be brought into her house, for having directed a boiler of hot water to be prepared, and for having by force pressed down his feet into the boiling water. This woman had, of course, to be placed

not looked favourably upon the Bethelsdorp missionaries' statements, and the cause of religion, as well as the interests of the native races, appear to have been damaged by their exertions. Serious charges of oppressing the natives were brought against Landdrost Cuyler by Dr. Van der Kemp and Mr. Read, a Commission was appointed, and the missionaries summoned to Cape Town. In the meantime Sir John Cradock* was appointed Governor in 1811, and Dr. Van der Kemp† died.

In the year 1815 a farmer named Fredrik Bezuidenhout

in the dock and tried as a criminal on this atrocious charge. It was clearly proved that the young Hottentot having been brought home one night with his extremities benumbed from the effects of a snow-storm, this lady endeavoured to restore animation, and from the kindest motives used hot water for his feet. The lad lived for years after in her service, and died from disease quite unconnected with this injury. This widow was of course acquitted, with every expression of sympathy by the Judges on the position in which she had been placed; but it is evident that such prosecutions, in which nearly 100 of the most respectable families on the Frontier were implicated, and more than 1,000 witnesses summoned and examined, engendered a bitter feeling of hostility towards the administration of justice in general, and more particularly against the missionaries."

* It may be interesting to note here the salaries given to the high officials of the Colony early in this century.

The Governor received.....	£12,000 per annum.
Lieutenant-Governor	3,000 ,,
Secretary to Government.....	3,000 ,,
Deputy Secretary (with perquisites)	3,000 ,,
Collector of Customs	1,200 ,,
Comptroller of Customs	1,000 ,,
Treasurer-General	1,200 ,,
Auditor-General	1,000 ,,
Paymaster-General	1,000 ,,

The Public Prosecutor was entitled by law to claim double fees.

† Van der Kemp was born in Germany and educated at the University of Leyden. He served sixteen years in the army under the Prince of Orange, with whom he quarrelled. He then studied medicine, and subsequently became a missionary. In Africa he purchased the freedom of seven slaves and made one of them his wife, "a mistake he lived to see and regret." A Parliamentary commission eventually examined into the charges of oppressing the natives, but the subject is far too extensive to be fully referred to here.

refused to appear before the Landdrost and Heemraden of Graaff-Reinet on the charge of ill-treating a Hottentot, and a small force of twenty men of the Cape Corps, under Lieutenant Rousseau, was dispatched to compel his attendance. Upon approaching his residence, near Baviaan's River Poort, they were fired upon by Bezuidenhout, who then, with a servant, hastily escaped to the dense bush in the neighbourhood. The "spoor" was tracked to a ledge of rocks where it would have been impossible to discover them had not the shining muzzles of their rifles been seen protruding from a hole in a precipitous krans. In answer to a summons to come out and give himself up, Bezuidenhout replied that he would never surrender but with his life. The soldiers then hastily scrambled along, threw up the two projecting barrels, while one of the party fired into the cave and shot Bezuidenhout through the head and breast. The servant crawled forth uninjured,* and an inspection of the cave proved that a quantity of ammunition had been collected and every preparation made for defence. Immediately after the departure of the military the relatives and friends of Bezuidenhout assembled to commit his remains to the grave, and on this occasion a brother of the deceased pronounced an inflammatory harangue, in which he contended that a burgher could only be legally arrested by his field-cornet or the civil authorities, and called upon the Boers to avenge this outrage by expelling the British forces from the Frontier. Cornelis Faber, a brother-in-law of the Bezuidenhouts, started to confer with the Kafir Chief Gaika; circulars were disseminated, and it was arranged to meet in arms on a given day "to expel the tyrants from the country." Mr. Van der Graaff, the Deputy Landdrost of Cradock, having been informed of these movements, communicated with Captain Andrews, who immediately sent out a military party and captured Prinsloo, one of the leaders. A few days after, between 300 and 400 men called upon Andrews to surrender his post and deliver up the prisoner.

* He was subsequently tried at Graaff-Reinet and acquitted.

Faber at this time joined the farmers with the unsatisfactory intelligence that Gaika had merely promised to call a meeting of his councillors. On the same evening Major Fraser succeeded in communicating with Captain Andrews' post, and two days after Colonel Cuyler, the Frontier Commandant, arrived. In spite of the exertions of Field-Commandant Nel to dissuade the rebels from further proceedings, their leaders, Faber, Bezuidenhout, and others, succeeded in obtaining from them a solemn oath to persevere in the struggle. As there was now no chance of submission, Colonel Cuyler marched out of Captain Andrews' station at the head of a troop of the 21st Light Dragoons, and accompanied by a band of Burghers under Commandant Nel. On the advance of this force, thirty rebels threw down their arms, and the remainder retired with their wagons and cattle into the fastnesses of the Baviaans River. By means of a combined movement this retreat was surrounded and cleared, most of the rebels succeeding in effecting an escape by passes with which they were familiar. The principal leaders contrived to escape so far as the Winterberg, but they were surprised and surrounded in a deep kloof by a detachment of the Cape Corps under Major Fraser. A skirmish ensued, in which Bezuidenhout was shot, Faber and his wife both wounded, and the rest taken prisoners. Eventually fifty or sixty rebels were secured, and a Special Commission appointed to try them. Six of the leaders were condemned to death (the others to undergo various degrees of punishment), and on the 6th of March, 1816, five of this number were executed at "Slachter's Nek."*

* The very spot where the leaders had obliged their followers to swear that they would expel the tyrants. The execution was a dreadful one, as the scaffold broke down with the weight of the five men, and the crowd around joined with the unfortunate victims in a vain cry for mercy. The sentence of the law had of course to be carried out. Judge Cloete remarks, "Thus ended the rebellion of 1815, the most insane attempt ever made by a set of men to wage war against their Sovereign. It originated entirely in the wild, unruly passions of a few

Lord Charles Somerset was appointed Governor of the Colony in 1814,* and in the following year the Cape of Good Hope was definitely ceded to England by the Treaty of Paris. It was on the 30th of May, 1815, that the frightful shipwreck of the *Armiston*, East Indiaman, took place on Cape L'Agulhas, when no fewer than 344 persons (including Lord and Lady Molesworth) perished. On the 15th December, 1817, a large ship named the *Amsterdam*, after having been dismasted in a severe gale, was run ashore between the mouths of the Coega and Zwartkops Rivers in Algoa Bay (not far from the present town of Port Elizabeth). Only three out of a crew of 217 were drowned. The cargo (from Java) was very valuable, and several presents for the King of the Netherlands were on board. The extensive calcareous tract of country about eighteen miles from Port Elizabeth, on the road to Graham's Town, was named Amsterdam Flats in consequence of the wreck of this vessel on the neighbouring shore.†

The Kafirs, who had been driven from the Zuurveld in 1811, found means by degrees to recover a considerable portion of the lost territory, and recommenced such a system of plunder that the Frontier inhabitants were in 1816 obliged to state that they would have to abandon their farms unless effectively protected. This position of affairs induced Lord Charles Somerset to hold a conference with Gaika and other great Chiefs in April, 1817, which resulted in a short interval of tranquillity. A solemn treaty was entered into, the minutes of which were carefully

clans of persons who could not suffer themselves to be brought under the authority of the law." Its effect, however, was to raise up a bitter feeling against the British, and to frequently give rise to the expression, "We can never forget Slachter's Nek."

* The Hon. Robert Meade was Lieutenant-Governor from the 3rd December, 1813.

† The *Amsterdam* was commanded by Captain Hofmeyr (generally styled Colonel) of Cape Town. The widow of an officer of high rank, named Marais, and an officer of the name of Aspeling, of a Cape family, were landed from a boat in Algoa Bay, and hospitably received at Mr. Korsten's residence at Cradock Place.

recorded by Lieutenant-Colonel Bird, Colonial Secretary. It was distinctly agreed that Gaika should be recognized as Paramount Kafir Chief, although he himself stated that other Chiefs claimed equality. As representing the Kafir nation, Gaika pledged himself to put a stop to the continual depredations committed on the Colonists, and agreed that in future the kraal to which cattle stolen from the Colony could be traced should be made responsible, and should be bound to make reparation from its own herds.* This treaty encouraged the Government to call upon the farmers to again inhabit Albany under a military tenure, which secured them their grants upon three years' occupation. But in spite of the treaty of peace, it was soon perceived that it was vain to expect honour, moderation, or honesty from savages. As the herds of the farmers increased, so did the insatiable cupidity of the natives; and in 1818 the system of plunder was carried on to as great an extent as formerly. T'Slambie was the first Chief of consequence to show his utter contempt for the treaty. He refused restitution of stolen cattle traced to one of his kraals, and ordered Field-Commandant Muller and his party away, while he justified to them the system of plunder which his tribe had recommenced. Major Fraser was immediately dispatched against him with 450 men, who crossed the Fish River at Trompetter's Drift, and soon after encountered T'Slambie at the head of 2,000 armed retainers. This Chief, after some parley, promised to restore the stolen cattle, but soon proved that he only gave the pledge in order to gain time. Major Fraser then carried out his instructions by seizing all cattle which were known to belong to T'Slambie. An attempt made to recapture the stock was defeated, and 2,000 head were brought into the Colony; 600 of these were identified as having been stolen from the farmers,

* Williams (missionary) in his journal says that Gaika very readily agreed to these propositions, and said "that it would be the right way to prevent in future any from secreting the thieves." This writer speaks of the greedy manner in which Gaika received his presents, and "then fled instantly to the other side of the Kat River like a thief."

and the remainder were distributed among the people who had been robbed. Previous to Fraser's expedition, Gaika had warned his uncle, T'Slambie, "not to delay the return of the plunder seized and detained in defiance of a public agreement;" but the latter was jealous of his nephew's supremacy, and determined to resist his authority. He soon commenced an open rebellion, in which he induced Hintza and several other Chiefs to join. The maintenance of a predatory system was the avowed object of the confederacy, and this became so popular as to attract large numbers, and to terrify Gaika into urgently requesting prompt assistance from the Colonial Government. This was of course guaranteed; but before any succour could be sent, Gaika was defeated in battle at the Koonap, and forced to fly, after a loss of no fewer than 6,000 head of cattle. A great commando of military and burghers, comprising 3,352 men, was now assembled under Lieutenant-Colonel Brereton, with a view to restore Gaika to his supremacy and dominions. This force entered Kaffraria by De Bruin's Poort on the 3rd of December, 1818, and was then joined by Gaika with 6,000 fighting men. They crossed the Kat River on the 5th, and, falling upon the hostile kraals, put the inhabitants to flight and captured several thousand cattle. On the 7th the allied forces crossed the Chumie and Keiskamma Rivers, and, having driven T'Slambie's adherents from their villages, attacked them with shells in the dense bush to which they had fled for safety. No opposition was attempted, Gaika was reinstated in his former position, and no fewer than 11,000 cattle were handed over to him by the victors as compensation. While these military operations were going on in Kafirland, the confederate Chiefs took advantage of the absence of our forces to invade the Colony. They crossed the Fish River in numerous bodies, drove in the small military posts, and ravaged the Frontier Districts. Before additional troops could be sent to the front,* the tribes

* The advance of the levies was very much impeded by lung-sickness among horses, which has at certain intervals caused frightful mortality in stock.

of T'Slambie and Congo, incited to fanaticism by a witch doctor named Makanna or Lynx,* marched a force of between 8,000 and 10,000 men out of the Great Fish River Bush and attacked the head-quarters of the military at Graham's Town. Providentially a small force, with two six-pounders, was at hand, and the attack was repelled. This, however, was only effected with the utmost difficulty; the field-pieces had thrice to be limbered up and taken to the rear, and it was only when under cover of the few houses of Graham's Town that the firing became so effective as to force the Kafirs to retreat.† As it was physically impossible to protect the Frontier effectively so long as the dense Fish River Bush remained in the hands of the enemy, orders were given to expel them from the country between the Fish River and the Keiskamma. This was very successfully done by a large force under Colonel Willshire. Inconceivable as it may seem, a determination was arrived at to bestow this extensive territory on Gaika, although many of his men had been engaged in the attack on Graham's Town, and his chief interpreter (Nootka) was shot in the act of attempting to stab Colonel Willshire. But before adopting any measure of this description, Lord Charles Somerset proceeded to the Frontier in 1819, and there concluded a treaty with Gaika and the other Kafir Chiefs, when it was agreed "that all Kafirs should evacuate the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma." It was further arranged that this country should remain unoccupied and form a *neutral* territory between the two nations. Of course, as might have been foreseen, a

* The influence of witch doctors has exercised the most baneful effect upon the Kafir tribes. This man (Lynx) was subsequently captured and sent to Robben Island. When endeavouring to escape in a boat he and his companions were drowned.

† If the advance had been made at night it would have been successful. It was delayed by Makanna for the purpose of sending a vainglorious message to the Commandant (Colonel Willshire) announcing that he would breakfast with him the next morning. To resist 9,000 Kafirs there were only 350 European troops and a small corps of disciplined Hottentots. 1,400 Kafirs are said to have been slain.

convention of this nature was only made to be broken, and so soon as the Governor had turned his back numbers of Kafirs found their way into the forbidden land. Subsequently Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin obtained a modification in the terms of the treaty, so that it was arranged that British military posts could be stationed between the Fish River and the Keiskamma.

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A N N A L S

OF THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

ANNALS, &c.

SECTION I.

State of England in 1819—Condition of the Cape at that period—Emigration to South Africa proposed by the British Government—Emigrants leave England—Arrive in the Colony in 1820, and are located in the *Zuurvelden**—Native relations at the time—First international (reprisal) system between Colony and Kafirs established.

THE writer of the foregoing History of the Cape Colony closed his labours in the year 1820. At his request, and the urgent solicitations of numerous friends, I have been induced to resume the chronicle from that period, inasmuch as it is one which is believed to have had an extraordinary influence over this extensive possession of Her Majesty's empire, and in a great manner changed its character.

To register the circumstances which led to the successful settlement of the Eastern portion of the Colony by the introduction of British immigrants, from which the original Dutch Settlers had been several times ejected by the intruding savages, to trace the development of its resources, the history of the separation of the Colony into two Provinces, the strangely chequered progress of trial, and triumph of the East, with its present prospects, is the task fallen to my share; and perhaps I may presume to say that "having had a perfect understanding of all things from the very first," as one of the Settlers of 1820, an eye-witness of many of the transactions related, and with opportunities afforded by a long career in the Colonial Civil Service, my record may possibly command some attention,

* Sour-fields, a country covered with sour pasturage. *Zoutveld* is where the grasses are sweet. *Gebrokenveld*, or broken field, where these two are mixed, and the best adapted for stock.

however deficient in style, rude in narration, and devoid of literary graces. My predecessor in this volume, I fancy, has had the advantage of recording the more romantic periods—treading the flowery paths, while mine is to travel over that of stubborn fact, prosy detail, and dry statistics, for which I crave the pity and indulgence of my readers.

To elucidate the following narrative it will be as well at this starting point to take a hasty glance over the condition of the Colony at the time my colleague terminated his work, for which there exist ample materials.* The area of the Colony then included 128,150 square miles, bounded by a conventional line beginning at the mouth of the River Koussie, on the Atlantic littoral, running eastwardly by Governor Plettenberg's Baaken, on the Seacow River, and thence southward to the Tarka, and down to the estuary of the Great Fish River, on the Southern Ocean. The population numbered 110,380 souls, of whom 47,988 were white, 28,835 Hottentots, and 33,557 slaves or apprentices. The relative population of what is now designated Eastern and Western Province was as follows :—West, 75,425 ; East, 34,954 souls. The number of towns in the whole Colony was ten only. The opportunities for public worship were very limited in the East. At Graaff-Reinet, there was a clergyman of the Dutch Reformed Communion ; a church, with a missionary chapel for the coloured classes ; in Uitenhage, a pastor of the same persuasion ministering in something little better than a barn ; in Graham's Town, a chaplain to the troops cantoned there, officiating in a similar structure ;—indeed, it was remarked at the time that the Sabbath had halted at the Sundays River and found it difficult to get across. The relations of the Colony with its barbarous neighbours were even then not very “ comfortable.” The year 1819 had witnessed the expulsion for the third time of the intruding Kafir clans from the fertile fields of the Eastern Districts, which they had for a considerable period of

* *State of the Cape in 1822.* By a Civil Servant of the Colony (the late Wilberforce Bird). London : Murray. 1823.

years settled upon with a dogged persistency—plundering, destroying, and forcing the terrified inhabitants from time to time to abandon their homesteads, and spreading their ravages full two hundred miles westward of the Colonial boundary. The commerce of the Colony was entirely restricted to Table Bay; a few articles, such as butter, salt, soap, and some whale-oil and skins, being the sole exports from Algoa Bay from 1812 to 1820. The foreign trade of the whole Colony in 1821 amounted in imports, £454,566; exports, £150,909 (including the great staple of wine, £82,170); total, £605,475. The currency was a depreciated paper issue, with a rate of exchange against the Colony reaching in September, 1821, to 161 per cent., and in May, 1822, 195 per cent. The shipping resorting to Table and Simon's Bays in 1821 for landing cargo employed 30,865 tons; and for refreshments, 40,854 tons. The public revenue in the same year was—receipts, £109,763 (including £987 postage); disbursements, £93,743, with heavy liabilities of the Government Exchequer.* The Government itself was formed upon the old Tory model, exacting, arbitrary, oppressive, and ruled by favouritism. Press there was none, beyond a weekly vehicle for proclamations, and a medium for advertising. Public opinion did not exist, and if it ever sought vent was stifled at its first utterance. The people generally were abject and flunkeyish, and in the remote Eastern districts poverty stricken, being harassed by the ever-encroaching savage; their houses, or more properly hovels, were barely furnished—camp stools and wagon chests being the chief articles, and their clothing the tanned skins of sheep, which the writer was told by a Scots military friend, when it was still in vogue, was “the claiith of the country.”

Such is a retrospective “bird’s-eye view” of the “exact position of Her Majesty’s Colony at the Cape of Good Hope” at the period referred to, when a sudden and

* 1867—Imports, £2,405,409; exports, £2,394,825; revenue, £898,825 (including postage, £28,209); expenditure, £671,071; tonnage inwards, 367,785; outwards, 358,137.

unlooked-for change came over its hitherto dreary existence of 168 years, to relieve it from its lowest ebb tide.

It has ceased to be an unsolved problem whether the advent of the immigrants from England into the Eastern districts of South Africa was opportune or attended with beneficial consequences to the old inhabitants, to the immigrants themselves, to the Colony as a whole, or even to the parent State. Years have settled this once disputed question. It was no doubt a bold experiment on the part of its projectors, for failure would have imperilled the national character and the fortunes of the exiles. Without the experience of any similar Government undertaking, during an unfavourable political and commercial crisis, the attempt was made, although at a comparatively trifling cost. It is therefore one of the objects of the writer to show to persons at a distance, unacquainted with the history—for a lamentable ignorance still prevails regarding our affairs—that the experiment has well repaid the Imperial outlay* (despite the expenditure of three devastating Kafir wars, all of which, had the representations of the residents on the spot been attended to, might have been avoided) by the increased value of the Colonial commerce, mainly created by the immigrants, and the large amount of exports of raw material, the products of their industry, giving employment to thousands of the Home population.

I commence my Sequel to the Colonial Annals in the year 1819, and if what I have to relate shall sometimes throw into shade the transactions of the older Settlement, it is the fault, if fault there be, of the events in the renovated Eastern quarter taking precedence by their number

** The British Settlement, Eastern Province, Cape of Good Hope, in account with Great Britain.*

Dr.		Cr.	
1819. To vote of Parliament.....	£50,000	1830 to 1868. By Imports from	
1822. To vote additional.....	200,000	England	£28,413,909
1825. To cost Kafir War	300,000	1830 to 1868. By Exports to Eng-	
1847. To Do. Do.	1,000,000	land	32,950,299
1851. To Do. Do.	2,000,000		
	£3,550,000		£61,364,268

and prominence, and not from any wish of the annalist to elevate one portion of the Colony at the expense of the other.

The termination of the Continental wars in the year 1815, which enabled Great Britain to disband her large military and naval armaments, restoring to other countries a portion of the commerce and carrying trade which she had almost exclusively monopolized during the long-protracted contest, threw out of employment a very large proportion of her population, and effected throughout the United Kingdoms extensive and almost general distress, for, however triumphant and glorious the close, it was dimmed by intense suffering, which continued with unabated force to the beginning of 1819.

At this juncture, too, political questions of grave importance aggravated the difficulties of the Administration. A loud and deep demand, long pent up, arose for Parliamentary Reform, both from the enlightened and less informed classes of society, which the Tory Government of the day resisted. Public meetings began to be held throughout the land, especially in the manufacturing districts, where distress more particularly prevailed, and where designing men, taking advantage of the troubled times, inflamed the minds of the ignorant by exaggerated statements of their sufferings and the tyrannical disposition of the Government. Seditious papers and insurrectionary speeches led to covert military training, and an unwise yeomanry interference with a Reform meeting held at Manchester, resulting in death and injury to several of the populace, gave such an impetus to the spirit of disaffection and irreligion that demagogues such as "Orator" Hunt, of "Radical white-hat" notoriety, Dr. Watson, and others, with one R. Carlisle, who opened a shop in the leading thoroughfare of the metropolis, whence he vomited forth reprints of Republican and blasphemous tendency, such as *Paine's Age of Reason*, *Rights of Man*, *Toldoth Jeschu*, and more modern attacks upon Christianity, found ready and willing votaries to their wild schemes of what they called social regeneration. The Ministry unfor-

unately fanned the destructive flame by its violence towards the friends of the people, who deprecated unconstitutional methods of repression, while the passing of the celebrated "Six Acts" appeared to fill up the vial of popular indignation. A revolutionary crisis and the break-up of all the time-honoured institutions of the country seemed impending, and everything betokened a dissolution of society which the near approach of a much-dreaded reign rendered more than probable.

Happily for the country and the civilized world, the ancient oak of the British Constitution was too firmly rooted to be seriously injured by the passing storm. It reared its venerable head once more, and there is little doubt but that the tempest it now resisted, with the warning given of its vulnerability, tended to add to it additional strength and permanence; for from time to time the parasites which fastened upon its branches have been swept away. Religious disabilities, corn monopolies, rotten boroughs, unequal representation—which then it was treason, or at least sedition, to denounce—have been gradually lopped off, and "the brave old tree," *semper virens*, is as flourishing and vigorous as ever. *Esto perpetua.*

It was, however, during the height of the hurricane that "on the 12th July, 1819, being the last day of the session, Mr. Vansittart, Chancellor of the Exchequer, made that far-famed speech which was the leading cause of the embarkation for the Cape of Good Hope of more than four thousand Settlers of various descriptions. Lord Sidmouth, in the House of Lords, harangued to the same purport, and fanned the deluding flame which had been lighted up in the Commons. Mr. Vansittart is reported to have said, 'The Cape is suited to most of the productions both of temperate and warm climates, to the olive, the mulberry, and the vine, as well as to most sorts of culmiferous and leguminous plants, and the persons emigrating to this Settlement would soon find themselves comfortable.' The considerate and grave character of two Ministers so at war heretofore with everything like fancy or fable caused

their statements to be received with full credit and confidence, and they were regarded as a warrant of success. It is strange to relate such to have been the infatuation, that those who disagreed on all other subjects agreed in this alone.”* On the representation of the Minister, the “faithful Commons” at once and unreluctantly voted £50,000 to carry the emigration into effect. The promulgation of the governmental scheme was received with avidity by the public, and the applications for permission to avail themselves of the facilities offered were numerous beyond expectation. The number to be accepted was restricted to 4,000 souls, and the disappointment of the unsuccessful candidates, amounting to above 90,000, was bitter beyond conception. The utmost care was employed in the selection of the emigrants. The regulations issued from Downing-street required certificates as to character from the ministers of parishes,† or some persons in whom the Government could repose confidence; offered passages to those persons who, possessing the means, would engage to carry out at the least ten able-bodied individuals above eighteen years of age with or without families; that a deposit should be made of £10 for every family of one man, one woman, and two children; others beyond this number to pay £5 each, &c.,‡ so that, notwithstanding an ungenerous sneer of the “Civil Servant” “that it was the wish of the Ministry to get rid of the dangerously disaffected,” Government had reserved to itself the right, and exerted it successfully, to prevent the migration of such useless and ill-assorted characters for its new Settlement.

The two first vessels with the adventurers (the *Chapman* and *Nautilus*, transports) left Gravesend on the 3rd of December, 1819, lost sight of the white cliffs of Albion on the 9th, and arrived in Table Bay on the 17th March

* *Vide State of the Cape in 1822.* The author of which, one of the advisers of Lord C. Somerset, was, however, most hostile to the new Settlers, and from the date of their arrival predicted their failure.

† The emigrants were principally members of the Church of England.

‡ *Vide Circulars issued from Downing-street, London, July, 1819.*

following, on the 9th April anchored in Algoa Bay, and safely debarked on the following morning at its little fishing village with anxious, beating hearts, made still more uneasy by the forbidding and wild aspect of the shore. This, however, was quickly relieved by the hearty welcome of the few officers of the little garrison, and others, whose kindness and solicitude was beyond all praise. Alas ! as this is penned, hardly one of these now survive to receive the acknowledgments of gratitude, and but few of the pioneers by these vessels live to make those acknowledgments.*

Upon landing, the Settlers were disappointed to find their locations distant full one hundred miles from the port, although one party had solicited to be set down near the mouth of the Great Fish River, where some of the most sanguine had already planted—in imagination—“sufferance wharves,” and dreamt of innumerable vessels to be anchored in that estuary.† Wagons were, however, provided by Government in sufficient number, at the cost of the immigrants, a debt which was afterwards most considerably remitted, as was the charge also of rations issued for several months ; in fact, the British Government of that day behaved with the greatest liberality to the young Plantation. On the 18th of April, the first or “*Chapman party*” commenced their inland progress in ninety-six wagons from Algoa Bay, afterwards named Port Elizabeth, which at that time numbered thirty-five souls

* Among these were the old Commandant of Fort Frederick, Algoa Bay (Capt. Frances Evatt), Lieutenant-Colonel O’Rielly, and the Chief Magistrate of Uitenhage, Colonel (afterwards General) Cuyler, an American loyalist. The family of this gentlemen preserve with great care an interesting relic, the portraits of their grand-parents, painted by the unfortunate Major André, who was executed as a spy by General Washington, in 1780, and while he was a prisoner at New York (Albany), of which city Colonel Cuyler’s father had been Mayor.

† How well do I remember myself and friends, previous to our decision to emigrate, poring over a military map of the Colonial Frontier, by Lieut. Wylie, of the 38th Regiment, and speculating upon the character of the country on the banks of the Great Fish River, and indulging day-dreams of its port.—J. C. C.

(including its small garrison) inhabiting two houses stone-built, and a few huts, a more desolate and unpromising place indeed can hardly be conceived.

The journey was propitious ; splendid rains had fallen a few months before, the rivers were running, the ponds (vleys) overflowing, the pasturage luxuriantly rich, astonishing the travellers, who had pictured Africa as arid, waterless, and sterile. Game, too, was abundant—the hartebeest, springbok, quagga, ostrich—but the country devoid of inhabitants and cattle, while the blackened gables of the farm-houses recently burnt by the Kafir savages furnished proof how terrible the invasion of 1819 had been. On the 26th, the party with great ease crossed in their wagons the Kowie River mouth, where now vessels of more than 300 tons lie at anchor, and on the evening of the 28th arrived at a deserted farm called “Korn Place” (a promising, but delusive, augury) under the mud walls of a house not long consumed by the enemy. Here the immigrants decided to sit down permanently, and called the embryo village “Cuylerville,” in compliment to Colonel Cuyler, whose attentions and kindly manners during the time he accompanied them on their long and fatiguing journey were unremitting. On the following day a few of the party, with some military officers and Colonel Cuyler, proceeded to inspect the mouth of the Great Fish River, which raised high expectations of its future navigability ; and on the 3rd of May Colonel Cuyler took his leave with this ominous caution, “Gentlemen, when you go out to plough never leave your guns at home.”

The remainder of this, to them, eventful year was occupied in hutting or housing, for which a small detachment of the Cape Corps, skilled in these matters, and for defence, had been most considerately left ; and very soon a large breadth of soil was sown with wheat, Indian corn, and seeds of vegetables. The immigrants were now left to themselves in a vast wilderness, the nearest occupied spot being the small military post of Kafir’s Drift, seven miles, and the head-quarters, Graham’s Town, forty miles away ; and the wolf, the jackal, and the tiger nightly serenaded

them; at first frightening the new-comers out of their propriety, until custom made them familiar with what was somewhat alarming, but never proved dangerous.

As many of the following pages will of necessity be occupied with references to the intercourse between the immigrants and their neighbours, the Kafirs, with whom they had been placed in rather too close proximity, it will be as well here to put the reader in possession of the exact state of the relations existing between the Colonial Government and those tribes at this period. From the year 1775 the Great Fish River had been deemed the Eastern boundary of the Colony, and was finally declared to be such by Lord Macartney in 1798, but the Kafirs had nevertheless continually encroached upon the Dutch Settlers on the west of that river, and so persistent and destructive were these intrusions that in 1811 the Government was obliged to drive them out by force. In 1816, and following year, their daring outrages and depredations recommenced, when the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was called to the Frontier, where, on the 2nd of April, 1817, he had a conference with the Chief Gaika, "who pledged himself most unequivocally and unreservedly to aid Government in procuring retribution for any depredations, and to punish depredators with death." This the first or "REPRISAL SYSTEM" was inaugurated with the consent of the Chief, the following being the terms agreed upon:—The Chief to restrain Kafirs from plundering, restore such cattle as should be found among the Kafir herds, permit the Colonial Government to enforce restitution of plundered cattle from any kraal to which such should be traced, or permit the party following them to seize an equal proportion, should restitution or compensation be resisted.

In 1819 troubles again broke out. The Kafirs—more than 5,000—invaded the Colony, attempted to carry the military cantonment of Graham's Town (then garrisoned by 350 Europeans and a small party of Hottentots) by storm, but were repulsed. They then laid waste the whole of the Zuurveld; after which a commando was raised, under the

command of Colonel Willshire (afterwards Sir Thomas, the hero of Khelat), the barbarians were once more ejected, several Chiefs surrendered, and the arch-instigator of the inroad, the prophet Lynx, or Makanna, was taken and deported to Robben Island, and the Zuurveld in this its desolated state was destined to be the abode of the British Settler.

On the cessation of hostilities the Governor, Lord C. Somerset, had another interview with Gaika at the Gwanga, on the 14th October, and in the spirit of report made to the Government in 1809, and the recommendation of the elder Stockenstrom, in 1810, then Chief Magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, Colonel Brereton and Colonel Cuyler represented to Gaika that it appeared impracticable to secure the repose of the Frontier as long as the Kafirs had ready access to the Great Fish River jungles; that therefore, in order to protect the Colony from depredations and Kafir-land from the visits of the Colonial troops to punish aggression, the Fish River ought no longer to be the boundary, but the Chumi River and Keiskamma. Gaika, his son Macomo, the Chiefs Eno, Botman, Congo, Habana, and Garetta, with their interpreters, the Governor and his staff—his interpreter being Captain Stockenstrom (afterwards Sir Andries)—being present, agreed to the proposal, engaged at once to move beyond the new limits, that the troops should destroy every vestige of a kraal within them, and that military posts should be erected between the two rivers to prevent the future occupation of the ceded territory by any petty Chief.*

This territory, often interchangeably named “ceded” or “neutral,” intervened between the new immigrants and

* *Vide Government Gazette*, October 30, 1819, in which the Governor at the same time invites the Dutch inhabitants “to form settlements on the borders of the Great Fish River, particularly the Zuurveld, unrivalled in the world for its beauty and fertility, and which he is determined to defend by a strong and vigilant military force.” The inhabitants did not, however, respond. After having been driven out by the Kafirs several times—“a burnt child dreads the fire”—it was the fate of the British Settlers of 1820 “to take out the chesnuts.”

the Kafirs, a breadth of about thirty miles by fifty—a country, in fact, not originally belonging to them, but to the Gonnah Hottentots, and known as “Gonaqualand.” It was only taken possession of by the Kafirs after the year 1752, when an Ensign Benteler found them to the east of the Kei River, which river they crossed somewhere about 1760, under Khakhabe, the grandfather of Gaika.

SECTION II.

Administration of Acting-Governor Lieutenant-General Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, K.C.B.

FROM JANUARY 13, 1820, TO DECEMBER 1, 1821.

1820—Sir R. S. Donkin Acting-Governor—Visits Frontier—Establishes Port Elizabeth and Bathurst—First failure of Settlers' crops. 1821—Second visit—Establishes Military Settlement of Fredericksburg—Appoints Settlers as Magistrates—Light-house at Table Bay—Second failure of crops—Lord C. Somerset resumes his Government—Commences reversal of Governor Donkin's measures. 1822—Kafirs commence plundering—Settlers contemplate removal—Attempt to hold a public meeting forbidden—Appeal to England—Third failure of crops—Change in Inheritance Law obtained. 1823—Fresh memorials sent to England—Violent Storms. 1824—Royal Commissioners of Inquiry arrive—Rejoicings in Graham's Town—Government denounce the Settlers—Commissioners vindicate the character of the Settlers—Attempt to establish Free Press stopped. 1825—Effects of Visit of Commissioners of Inquiry begin to develop—A Council to assist the Governor established.

By the end of the year 1820 most of the emigrant ships had touched at the Cape and proceeded to Algoa Bay, and by its close there had been landed there 4,659 persons, which number was soon supplemented by the relations and friends of the first arrivals, so that in the total 5,000 souls settled in the new Colony in the Zuurvelden or Sourfields, a belt of land extending eastwardly from the Sundays River to the Great Fish River, and southwardly from Graham's Town to the sea, an area of some 3,000 square miles.

The Governor of the Colony, Lord Charles Somerset, having gone to England on leave, the administration devolved on that talented, amiable, but subsequently ill-fated officer, Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin, who after dispatching some of the earlier Settlers' ships as they arrived in Table Bay, himself soon followed. Landing in Algoa Bay he called the village he there founded "Port Elizabeth,"* after his late wife, who had recently died in India,

* Algoa Bay first discovered by Bartolomeo Diaz (the precursor of Vasco da Gama) in 1486. Taken possession of by the Dutch in 1785. The English in 1798 built a stone defence on the Hill above the

marking the event by erecting a pyramid on the Hill, dedicated to her memory, little creditable it must be said to the taste of the architect, but still of some use as a beacon for shipping. He then visited the several locations, encouraging the new comers by cheering words of kind encouragement, founded a town and magistracy at Bathurst on a branch of the Kowie River, the Mansfield, as the nucleus of the Settlement, at which place he had providently collected Commissariat stores of food, implements and other necessities.

Up to nearly the close of the year everything portended success; the season was genial, the crops luxuriant and promising, the cattle which the Settlers had purchased from the Dutch farmers from the interior were fat and healthy, and joyous expectancy filled the bosoms of all, alas! how soon to be extinguished, for in November the wheat crops began to exhibit the symptoms of that fatal disease, the rust, which became general throughout the Settlement before the time of harvest. The blow was severe—disheartening, and much distress and despondency followed, for all the breadstuff remaining to them was very limited, and they were chiefly obliged to have recourse to maize (Indian corn), a food to which none had been accustomed.

1821—The ensuing year, thus commenced gloomily enough; but hopes were still indulged that better times were in store. The majority of the immigrants were young, healthy, and naturally sanguine; the fact too, known to them, that the Colony had the credit of producing the finest wheat in the world, sustained their confidence; and their firm reliance upon Providence inspirited them to renewed exertion. In June Sir Rufane Donkin again visited the Locations, sympathized with the disappointed, and animated the trusting. Provisions, in consequence of the failure, continued to be issued from the Government stores at a reasonable rate, on credit; an increase to the

landing place, still existing, and called it, after the Duke of York, "Fort Frederick." Barrow, in his travels, published in London, 1806, describes the state of this almost *terra incognita* in 1797 and foretells with prophetic foresight its future as a successful seat of commerce.

miserably insufficient grants of land (originally only 100 acres for each adult) was promised ; a Military Settlement founded in the ceded or neutral territory between the Great Fish and Kieskamma Rivers, with a Fort at Fredericksburg on the Gualana River, calculated to keep the lately expelled barbarians in check ; a popular Chief Magistrate, a Colonel Jones, was appointed for the District of Albany, and with him were associated two of the leading Settlers as Heemraaden (*i.e.*, assessors) to his Court, viz., Captain Duncan Campbell and Mr. Miles Bowker, both gentlemen possessing the good opinion of the immigrants. Confidence was thus restored, and the Settlers began again to till the land which had proved so ungrateful for past attentions, when adverse circumstances arose to scatter their fondest hopes.

Unfortunately for the peace and progress of the Settlement, differences having arisen, out of some infraction of military routine, between Sir Rufane and the son of the absent Governor (an officer on the Frontier), occasioned such a breach, that it began to be rumoured that Lord Charles Somerset, whose return was daily expected, being moved by his son, had expressed entire displeasure at all the acts of Sir Rufane, and was disposed vindictively to reverse them—a rumour too quickly realized ; to add to the alarm occasioned by these reports, symptoms of that cruel scourge, the rust, reappeared, and the wheat crops for the second time entirely failed. Lord Charles arrived on the 30th November, harbouring feelings of resentment against the immigrants, who naturally held strong sentiments of gratitude to their benefactor, the Acting-Governor, and were disposed to espouse his cause, the fatal results of which were at once exhibited, and he treated that officer with humiliating disrespect.*

The annals of the Western portion of the Colony at this period afford little of value to warrant notice. Affairs there went on in their usual routine, the supplies required for

* *Vide* Letter on the Government of the Cape of Good Hope by Lieutenant-General Sir Rufane Shaw Donkin—London, 1827.

the use of the Settlers gave good and profitable employment for a portion of its capital pour "*les misérables*" in the East, and the only events of real value were the commencement of a Light-house, the first on its coast, on Green Point, at the entrance of Table Bay, and the foundation of the Cape Town Library.

Administration (resumed) of Governor Lord Charles Somerset.

FROM DECEMBER 1, 1821, TO FEBRUARY 8, 1826.

One of the first acts of "the Restoration" was the removal from the Magistracy of the British Settlement of Albany of Colonel Jones, "a gentleman of noble descent, and a brave, open, and kind-hearted man." This ungracious procedure was adopted too within six days of His Excellency's arrival, and in the most offensive manner. The successor appointed was a person known to be a staunch supporter and protégé of Lord Charles, and consequently, although a man of ability, not very acceptable to the Settlers, soured by misfortune, and now become distrustful of the Government. Such early indications of temper at head-quarters, added to the gloom occasioned by the adverse dispensations of Providence, and the prospect of political persecution to which the adventurers on the Frontier had in no way made themselves obnoxious, heightened the dismay.

The animosity the returned Governor displayed in the instances just recorded was soon made farther apparent by the treatment of Sir Rufane's favourite and judicious settlement of Fredericksburg. Immediately on His Excellency's arrival it was industriously circulated that he intended to suppress it, and the privates of the Royal African Corps, who had been disbanded, but placed under contract with the officers, grantees, and others for a limited period of service, began to desert without the slightest check. To aid the dissolution, an order was also issued for the withdrawal of

the small military post quartered for the protection of the village, as well as for the discontinuance of the road to it, then constructing at Kafir's Drift, across the Great Fish River. The effect of these and other hostile measures tended to embolden the Kafirs, who, taking advantage of this unstable policy and manifest indication of weakness, threatened the new little Colony, commenced robbing the Settlers on both sides of the Fish River, and committed several barbarous murders; so that before the end of March, 1822, the whole of the Fredericksburg party were forced to retire, leaving houses and standing crops to the mercy of the delighted barbarians, who soon burnt the village. Beyond this the safety of the Albany Settlement was also compromised by the permission given to that insubordinate and worst foe, the Chief Macomo, to occupy on sufferance a portion of these lands so vacated, and by sundry ill-planned military movements, ending in disgraceful failures, afforded the ever-ready enemy a colourable pretext for his recommencement of encroachments.

Another token of His Excellency's utter disapproval of the Donkin system was the removal of the Albany seat of magistracy from Bathurst to Graham's Town, which, although in itself probably a necessary change, was felt at the time as a vexatious proof of hostility. Dispirited by the past, and suspicious of the future, many of the Settlers now began seriously to contemplate removal to some more favoured home: New South Wales (the present great Australian Colonies then "were not"), Canada, the United States, and even the little isolated Island of Tristan d'Acunha, were speculated upon.* The mechanics too, as well as others, began to disperse† into the other districts of the Colony, a movement which it was vainly attempted

* In April a subscription was entered into for the purpose of gaining information of the capabilities of Buenos Ayres, Brazil, Van Dieman's Land, &c.

† This dispersion, like many others, had nevertheless a beneficial effect upon those places and peoples to which it was directed. The surrounding Dutch districts gladly and kindly received the fugitives, who carried with them the example of their European industry, their

to arrest, and there was every symptom of a general disruption of the Settlement. At length a Select Committee of twelve gentlemen was appointed to draw up a statement of the aspect of affairs, to be laid before the Cape Town Government, and in May (11th) a requisition was addressed to the leading Settlers to meet on the following 24th at Graham's Town, "to consider the best means to be adopted at the present crisis," but this British and constitutional method of seeking redress was met by a furious Government proclamation, bearing the same date, declaring the proposed meeting unlawful, and threatening "arrest and the bringing to justice all and every individual who shall infringe the ancient laws of the Colony."*

Foiled in their legitimate course the Settlers prudently abstained from any public demonstration, but undaunted by their harsh repulse at once prepared (at private meetings, held at their respective homes) and transmitted to the Imperial Government memorials containing full representations of their present condition and future prospects, repelling the insinuations of disaffection, and indignantly denying, as they were designated in the Governor's proclamation, they were "either ignorant, malevolent, or designing persons."

To increase the general dejection, disease in the wheat crops began once more to appear, and by the end of September a general failure—the third—was announced, the malady even spreading among the hitherto secure

artistic skill, superior knowledge and education, their freedom of thought and fearlessness of expressing it, and their English language, which soon spread widely; in fact they leavened the whole mass of the Eastern population and welded the African-Dutch and British of the Province into one. It has been correctly observed that the Eastern Province is more perfectly English than any other portion of South Africa. The effect of intercourse was noticed by Mr. H. Rutherford, an eminent Cape Town merchant, in his evidence before the Committee on Aborigines, in 1836, where he says, "The Boers on the Frontier generally possess a greater degree of intelligence than those in other parts."

* These "Antient Laws" against public meetings were wisely repealed, 12th December, 1848.

Bengal variety. During the year also, an unpopular and impotent attempt was made to incorporate the impoverished and harassed Settlers into a Yeomanry Corps, and to impose upon them an Oath of Allegiance, which, under the circumstances, was resented as a slur upon their conscious loyalty. The two Special Heemraaden, Captain Campbell and Mr. Bowker, now felt themselves bound to resign their commissions; and the Kafirs, after robbing the Settlers and committing some murders, and assembling in masses within their own country on the Border, seemed to menace attack. The only ray of hope now left to the unfortunate immigrants was furnished by rumours, fondly accepted, that the Home Government were preparing to inquire into the fate of their South African experiment in the remote pastures of the Zuurvelden.

The other events of this period, as they affect the whole Colony, may be summed up in a few words, viz.:—The establishment of a description of Savings Bank at Cape Town, which did not succeed; the arrival of several Scotch gentlemen as schoolmasters for the country districts, to teach, *inter alia*, the English language—a wise and statesmanlike measure; the promulgation of a proclamation (12th July) exempting Settlers from being subject to Dutch laws* in the matter of testamentary dispositions of

* “ It shall be considered lawful and of full force to all residents and settlers in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, being natural-born subjects of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to enjoy the same rights of devising their property, both real and personal, as they would be entitled to exercise under the laws and customs of England; provided, however, that in case any such natural-born subject shall enter into the marriage state within the Settlement without making a previous marriage settlement, (ante-nuptial contract) his property shall be administered according to the Colonial Law.”

Grave doubts of the legal force of this proclamation have been maintained by two of the Cape Attorneys-General, and the consequence has been that several of the Settlers, after accumulating large wealth, have removed to England to enjoy their birthright; and capitalists thus deterred from settling or remaining in the Colony, the creation of a permanently resident monied aristocracy has been prevented, or at least postponed.

their property; and the appointment of a Resident Agent among the Griquas, a tribe of half-castes arising from intercourse between the Dutch farmers on the extreme North-Western Border of the Colony and Hottentot females, who, migrating from the Colony to the North of the Orange River, were there collected by Missionaries into a settled abode at Griqua Town, and who are now divided into two clans—one under Waterboer, and the other under Adam Kok.

1823.—Weary of waiting for the expected inquiry into their grievances, the Settlers, on the 16th March, 1823, again addressed Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, with full explanations of their position, and as the principal difficulty therein enumerated still remains unredressed, although urged year after year, it is given here in as condensed a form as possible:—"We do not complain," say they, "of the natural disadvantages of the country to which we have been sent. We are actuated by one undivided feeling of respect and gratitude to the British Government, which future reverses will never efface; but it is a peculiar hardship being placed in a *remote corner* of the British dominions, with our interests and prospects committed to the control of one individual, and that our situation is neither thoroughly understood nor properly represented; that we have been debarred all means of expressing our collective sentiments upon matters of the utmost importance to our common interests. It has long—and from the most distressing proofs—become evident to the Settlers that the Colonial Government, *situated at the opposite extremity of the Colony*, where every particular, whether of soil and climate, or the constitution, pursuits, and interests of society, is totally different, possesses no adequate means of ascertaining their actual wants. That under this conviction it was contemplated by a small number of the principal Settlers to consult together upon the most advisable mode of making His Excellency the Governor acquainted with their situation, but this intention was not only met by positive prevention but by public imputations against the views and motives of the Settlers

in general," &c. This document was signed by 374 individuals of the most respectable classes.

After transmitting this appeal they awaited patiently the progress of events, when to their delight the expected "Royal Commissioners of Inquiry"* arrived on the 12th of July at Cape Town, where they were duly sworn in at Government-house. To fill up, as it were, their cup of calamity, violent tempests of wind and rain now visited the Eastern Districts in the month of October—still remembered as "The Flood"—causing the destruction of much life and property, and leaving the apparently doomed Settlement at its zero point of depression.

1824.—Buoyed up by the hope of relief from the Royal Commissioners, the new year (1824) was hailed with pleasure, not unmingled with anxiety, by the almost ruined and nearly despairing immigrants. On the 5th February these gentlemen arrived in Graham's Town, where they were received by the authorities with sullen courtesy—by the people with open arms; the then little town was illuminated, and great rejoicings exhibited under the belief that the "Reign of 'Gubernatorial' Terror"† was at an end. They were, however, for a time mistaken. In the evening of that day a few of the most respectable of the people who had assembled in the streets to witness the rejoicings were

* The names of the Commissioners were J. T. Bigge, Colonel, W. M. G. Colebrooke, and W. Blair.

† At this distance of time it will hardly be credited that the most petty and pitiful means were employed by the Cape Town Government and its minions on the Frontier to harass, disgust, and insult the Settlers, many of them belonging to British aristocratic families, and numerous others gentlemen by birth and education; in fact, to do the utmost to effect a total failure of the Home Government's beneficent intention of forming the Settlement. The new Magistrate who superseded Colonel Jones, and a clergyman of the Establishment, the Rev. Mr. Geary, just sent to Graham's Town, were furnished with "proscription lists" containing the names of those persons who were to be shunned and narrowly watched, and these were the most intelligent and mentally independent. Both were fortunately superior to this dirty task; but the clergyman especially refusing to be a party man, and having expressed gratification at the arrival of the Commissioners of Inquiry, was summarily removed.

charged by the mounted men of the Cape Corps, and were hauled off to the common prison, with the threat of incarceration; and a most cruel and mendacious semi-official statement was published in the *Government Gazette* of the 21st of February, designating the affair as "Riots in Graham's Town," accusing the people—who it called a rabble—with insulting the Government and "firing upon the soldiery." This distortion of a natural and harmless demonstration was intended to abuse the minds of the Commissioners, in which it signally failed, and for the purpose of hoodwinking the Imperial Government by representing the body of immigrants as belonging to that violent class of political reformers of 1820 opprobriously designated as "Radicals."

The Commissioners on the spot were not so easily to be duped, and in their report to the Honourable the Secretary of State, dated the 26th September, 1826, they thus nobly vindicated the character of the maligned immigrants:—"The introduction, however, of the English Settlers, and the right of free discussion which they have claimed and exercised, together with the bold defiance they have given to the suspicions entertained of their disloyalty and disaffection to the Government, have had the effect of exciting in the Dutch and native population a spirit of vigilance and attention that never existed before, and which may render all future exertion of authority objectionable that is not founded upon the law."

No doubt encouraged by the visit of the Commissioners of Inquiry, an attempt to establish a free press in the Colony, a thing hitherto unknown, was now made; and early in the year (January 7) Mr. John Fairbairn and a British Settler, Mr. Thomas Pringle (the sweet lyrist of Glen Lynden, whose muse has immortalized the scenery of the Frontier and Kaffraria), published the first number of a newspaper called *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, printed in Cape Town by Mr. George Greig. A South African journal was also begun by the same party, and the Rev. Mr. Faure, the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, commenced a similar work, entitled

De Zuid-Afrikaansche Tydschrift. This dawn of a free press was hailed with universal pleasure, but unfortunately destined in such Tory times to be of short duration.

A German philosopher, Börne, somewhere in his terse writings remarks that “*Luther well knew what he was about when he threw his ink-bottle at the Devil’s head; there is nothing the Devil hates more than ink,*” and so, true to the saying, the hatred of the Colonial Government to free journalizing was soon exhibited. On the 17th May, Lord Charles Somerset assumed the censorship of the press; *The Advertiser* was suspended, the types and presses seized by the Fiscal (*Anglice*, Attorney-General), and an order for the banishment of the proprietor, Mr. Greig, issued; but very soon, through fright, this was recalled. The natural result of these violences was pasquinading and the promulgation of manuscript libels against the actors in the stupid crusade. At length the temper of the Colonists was roused, and memorials from both Cape Town and the Eastern town were transmitted to the British Government, and the inestimable privilege of a free press was granted (April 30, 1829) after a long and weary struggle, mainly through the exertions of Mr. Fairbairn, to whom the public presented a silver vase, as a testimony of gratitude for his consistency and public spirit, which he richly deserved.

1825.—The effects of the Royal Commission began now gradually to develop themselves. In March, the huge monopoly of the Government Farm under the “Boschberg” at Somerset East, established ostensibly for the advantage of the Cavalry Force on the Frontier, but in fact for the Governor’s benefit whose name it bore, was abolished, and the present village thereon and district founded, while on the 2nd of May instructions issued by His Majesty George IV. were received, for the erection of a Council of seven members, including the Governor, to advise and assist him,* thus placing the

* Instructions dated 9th February named the following as members:—The Governor, Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary, Officer next in command, Colonel Bell, Auditor-General, and Receiver-General.

Imperial representative under some very slight but wholesome restraint. There are but few more incidents occurring to be catalogued, except that on the 6th June the South African Museum was established, which after some few years languished to almost entire extinction, but is now resuscitated and appropriately housed in that splendid edifice, the Library in the Government Gardens, at Cape Town. Under the present Curator's valuable management (E. L. Layard, Esq.), this institution has assumed its highest value. On the 13th October, the first steamer in our Colonial waters, the *Enterprise*, entered Table Bay, but was not followed by any other until the lapse of six years, when the *Sophia Jane* came in—so slowly was this magnificent invention appreciated.

SECTION III.

Administration of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Richard Bourke, C.B.

FROM FEBRUARY 8, 1826, TO SEPTEMBER 9, 1828.

1826—Lieut.-Governor Bourke arrives—Changes in System of Native Relations—Report of Royal Commissioners of Inquiry published—Important provisions not adopted, but some changes made. 1827—Charter of Justice granted—Old Courts abolished. 1828—Commissioner-General of Border appointed—Fetcani threaten Kafir tribes—They apply for aid and are succoured by Colony—Legislative Assembly called for—Green and Cowie's fatal Expedition to Delagoa Bay—Fiftieth Ordinance enactment—Sir L. Cole Governor—Public Works. 1829—Macomo expelled Kat River—Chief Gaika dies. 1830—Paper Currency withdrawn—A Commando against Kafirs—Chief Zekoe killed—Wool exported. 1833—Dr. Smith's Expedition into Northern Interior—Colonel Wade Acting-Governor.

1826 introduced a new, and it was anticipated, a more promising regime than the foregoing. On the 9th of February Sir Richard Bourke arrived, and on the 5th of May following Lord Charles Somerset left the Colony, ostensibly on leave of absence, to rebut, as at the time reported, certain charges preferred against him, but it was well known for a final departure, after an administration of twelve years, notorious for arbitrary government, but with the one redeeming quality of having improved the breed of the Cape Colonial horses.

On his assumption of office the Governor's attention was forcibly arrested to the state of the Frontier. Disapproving the (Somerset-Gaika) "reprisal" system instituted in 1819, he made the first change in the "Native Relations" by an order, dated 11th April, directing that no invasion should be made of the Kafir country for equivalents of stock stolen, although the places were known where it had been secreted. Attempts were to be made to overtake thieves while *within* the Border, but no armed pursuit beyond it. All activity and vigilance was recommended to be used to prevent depredation, but on no occasion, except robbers being in view, should troops cross the boundary; yet individuals might proceed to the nearest Kafir kraal and

demand that the traces should be then taken up by its inmates. This system of "forbearance, mischievous and criminal, as far as the Colonists were concerned,* soon produced its fruits," for as the Colonists were ordered not to fire unless resistance was shown, upon pain of trial for manslaughter should death ensue, the thieves walked quietly off with their plunder, and on applications being made to the nearest kraal, the Chiefs, afraid of their people, and not disinclined to shelter their braves, omitted to take any steps. The despoiled farmers were forced to submit, depredations were carried on more than ever, and this state of affairs lasted until February, 1829, when the next Governor, seeing the impolicy of these arrangements, reverted to the reprisal system, with some modifications.

In addition to the reversal of the Somerset reprisal system, now condemned as "irritating" to the natives, and with the benevolent but vain hope of subduing the love of plunder inherent in these savages, the Governor in September issued an Ordinance (No. 23, 1826) to facilitate commerce with the Kafirs by permitting private trade under licence beyond the boundary, instead of restricting it to the locality of Fort Willshire, where a fair had been established, and a short time before he left the Colony he promulgated another favourable enactment (Ordinance No. 49, 14th July), admitting the tribes beyond the Frontier to enter the Colony as labourers or residents at missionary institutions, thus affording them every opportunity of honest intercourse that possibly could be expected, with what result the subsequent history will show; but it may be here observed in anticipation, that the latter indulgence, by sanctioning in so facile a manner their entrance among the inhabitants gave them increased and more favourable opportunities of theft, of which they were not slow or sparing to avail themselves, and it was obliged to be suspended by the succeeding Governor, with the intention, however, to relax it at a more favourable

* *Vide* evidence before Aborigines Committee—Colonel Wade, Major Dundas, &c., in 1835-36.

time; this was, however, precluded by the conduct of the Kafirs, when in 1830 they became more unsettled and predatory than before.

The next most important event, as it refers to the Colony in general, but more particularly the Eastern Province, was the publication of the Report of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry, dated the 6th September. From that able document it appeared His Majesty George IV. had already been "graciously pleased to direct the Civil Government of the two Provinces should be kept *distinct and independent of each other*;" that, among other things, the Eastern Province should be presided over by a Lieutenant-Governor, residing at Uitenhage; that Cape Town should remain the Seat of Government of the Western Province, "although inconvenient of access" overland, and "because Table Bay is the principal resort of shipping and the deposit of *all* exports that are the produce of the Colony." Notwithstanding these recommendations, not one was carried out in the spirit intended. A Lieutenant-Governor was indeed appointed, but a mere sham, denuded of all power; the Provinces were not, and have not been, made "distinct," except in name; while Table Bay, although nominally the chief port, has lost that distinction—in reality ceased to be the emporium of "all the exports," for it now ships less than one-fourth of the Colonial productions, while the Eastern port of Algoa Bay contributes the remainder.*

The influence of the Royal Commission in other matters, however, began to be gradually but sensibly felt. The "job" appointment of "Wine-taster," with his establishment, was abolished. The people, recovering from the stupor of *quasi-serfdom*, actually dared to memorialize for an elective Burgher Senate, or Town Council, and some absurd restrictions on trading intercourse with the natives were relaxed.

1827 witnessed considerable ameliorations in the administration of local affairs, and several successful efforts

* Exports Western Province, 1868..... £433,712
 Eastern Province, 1868..... £1,782,179

were made to cleanse the Augean stable of the Colony. The old monopolies of the Dutch Government began to tremble in the balance; the exclusive right by Government of the retail sale of wines and spirits, called the "Pacht," previously farmed out to the highest bidder, was discontinued, and licences granted to qualified persons. The office of Vendue-master, or Government Auctioneer, who had the sole privilege of selling all property by public competition, was abolished. The Burgher Senate, which had become effete, was abrogated. Justices of Peace, Resident Magistrates, and Clerks of the Peace were created in certain districts, and to crown all a "Royal Charter of Justice" was issued by the Sovereign, establishing a Supreme Court with a Bench of British Judges, with trial by jury in criminal cases. The old Court of Justice was dissolved, the members of which held their offices "at pleasure," some of whom were not gentlemen exactly fitted for the position by legal acquirements, but were occasionally selected from the Military, Civil Service or mercantile community; indeed in 1822 a Judge of Circuit, although a most upright citizen, was a Cape Town wine merchant. The Boards of Landdrost and Heemraaden—inferior County Courts—were done away with, the Presidents, formerly the Chief Magistrates of the districts or divisions, being now designated as "Civil Commissioners," and the Heemraaden or Assessors, generally chosen for their Government tendencies or as being personal friends of the Magistrate and mere nominees, were "thanked" for past services and retired.*

1828.—To watch over the barbarian tribes on the Colonial border, Captain Stockenstrom, at that time the Chief Magistrate of Graaff-Reinet, on the 1st of January was appointed Commissioner-General of the Eastern Frontier—a sort of "Warden of the Marches;"—but harassed and fettered by the remote Table Mountain Government, very

* These bodies were resuscitated in 1855 under the title of "Divisional Councils," the Civil Commissioners acting as Chairmen, with six members elected by the inhabitants of Wards.

ill-informed of the nature of Frontier matters, all his efforts to benefit the Border were rendered nugatory; and after repeated remonstrances at the galling restraints to which he was subjected by the Colonial authorities—indisposed to concede, and he perhaps too exacting—he retired in disgust in 1833. No man was so conversant with Frontier matters and the interests of the Colonists, so independent and appreciative of the real character of the natives, of whom he had written to Government in 1817, “to get possession of arms and ammunition is more than an inducement for a Kafir to betray his own father,” and it is matter of deep regret he was not at that time entrusted with ample powers.

For a considerable period rumours had been rife that an overwhelming body of savages, reported to be cannibals, were advancing through Kafirland towards the Colonial Frontier. These Mantatees, or Fetcani, believed originally to have been settled near Delagoa Bay, but put into motion by the conquests of the Zulu Chieftain Chaka, had as early as 1822 appeared among the Bechuanas, but at length, in 1827, headed by a Chief named Matuana, precipitated themselves on the Tambookies, who, under the Tambookie Chief Vusani, held them in check. They then turned south-eastwardly on the Galekas, when Hintza urgently craved assistance from the Colony. By authority of Government, Major Dundas, of the Royal Artillery, Chief Magistrate of Albany, assisted by a body of the British Settler youth, met and defeated the invaders on the 26th July at the Bashee; and in the succeeding month, Colonel Somerset, with the troops, engaged and completely routed them at the sources of the Umtata, thus rescuing the Paramount Kafir Chief, his people, and nation, from utter annihilation,* who, with true native gratitude, were all the

* At the affair near the Umtata River, Hintza's people, nearly 20,000 in number, hovered around the troops without giving the least assistance; but when the enemy, after defeat, retreated in complete confusion, the atrocities committed by the Kafirs, as represented in official documents, were appalling—cutting off the arms and legs of their living victims in order the more easily to secure their brass bangle ornaments, mutilating the dead, &c.

time plundering the Colony, so much so that while the troops were absent, it was found requisite to leave behind a detachment of the 55th Regiment and a body of burghers intended and prepared to assist Hintza, in order to save the farmers from incessant robbery.

An ardent desire for more liberal institutions now displayed itself in the Colonial metropolis, where, on the 14th June, a large and influential meeting was held, praying for the institution of a Legislative Assembly, which was followed in the same month by the people of Albany; and generally the voice of the united Colony was in favour of the measure, but it was not gratified for more than a quarter of a century.

Among the notabilia of this year should be recorded the setting out in July of the adventurous overland journey undertaken by Dr. Cowie, the District Surgeon of Albany, and Mr. Benjamin Green, a young merchant of Graham's Town, to Delagoa Bay (*viâ* Natal), which former place they reached on the 24th March, 1829. On their return, these intrepid men, the first to explore those distant and deadly regions, perished in the wilderness—the Doctor on the banks of the Mapoota, and Green, after some short time, at a point nearer Natal. Fortunately the few notes of the last-named were recovered and placed by his directions in the hands of the writer, who published, in 1830, an account of the journey, as well as a map of the country traversed by the unfortunates, which filled up the hitherto void in the previous charts of Southern Africa between the River Kei and Delagoa. Not long after the departure of Cowie and Green, two British Settlers, Messrs. Collis and Cawood, visited Natal by land, and thus an intimate knowledge of the intervening fertile and magnificent coast country began to be acquired, and two Albany traders, Messrs. A. G. Bain and B. Biddulph, reached Letabaruba, near Kolobeng, in the country of the Bechuanas. Chaka, the monster murderous Chief of the Zulus, sent envoys to treat with the Cape Government at the end of this year, but they were very contumeliously repulsed—an act to be regretted, as probably some of the evils affecting the first

adventurers in the Natal Settlement might have been prevented.

It must not be omitted to mention that before Sir R. Bourke left the Colony in September, he prepared another important enactment, for which he himself deserves the entire credit, although there have been other claimants to the distinction. This, "An Ordinance (No. 50) for Improving the Condition of Hottentots and other Free Persons of Colour," was passed through the Council 17th July, 1828 (since repealed by a more comprehensive law). Previous to the promulgation of this humane provision an erroneous idea had become prevalent in the Colony that Hottentots, the original proprietors of the soil, could not hold land. A principle so atrocious and a tenet so unfounded therefore required some declaratory enactment, and this was provided by the one in question.

Administration of Governor Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, G.C.B.

FROM SEPTEMBER 9, 1828, TO AUGUST 10, 1834.

1829.—The Western Annals of 1829 are singularly barren of incidents. The opening of the South African College (8th October) and the commencement of those great public works, in the item of roads, so lavishly bestowed upon the West to the neglect of the Eastern Province, present the prominent figure, the latter commencing at Hottentot's Holland, where a grand opening in the Mountain was constructed, called after the Governor, Sir Lowry Pass. Beyond the publication of an Ordinance establishing the freedom of the Press, and the institution of a Literary Society in the Metropolis, nothing can be gathered of interest, while Frontier events begin again to crowd the Colonial archives.

The impolicy of permitting the Kafirs to occupy the ceded neutral territory was now made ominously apparent. Macomo, the son of Gaika, to whom alone the privilege had in the first instance been accorded, soon

associated with himself other Chiefs, and in the preceding year made an unprovoked and sanguinary attack upon the Tambookies living on the Zwarte Kei River, driving and following them into British territory, where one of their Chiefs, Powana, was slain, the people despoiled of 5,000 head of cattle, reduced to starvation, and dependent for existence upon Colonial charity. An official inquiry was instituted on the spot at the Klaas Smits River, and Macomo, with the concurrence of the Commissioner-General, was expelled the Kat River, having, after timely notice, evaded to restore the plunder or give satisfaction. This act he never forgot nor forgave, but immediately, in revenge, employed all his influence over his fellow Chiefs against the Colony, causing such serious alarm that the prospect of an immediate outbreak was confidently anticipated by the military authorities. In the month of September, therefore, the Governor visited the disturbed Border, had a conference with Gaika, and then, on the advice and with the concurrence of the Commissioner-General, founded the celebrated but afterwards notorious Kat River Settlement.* This visit for the time acted as a sedative; robberies, which had been numerous and extensive during the last two years, rather decreased, the age and sickly state of the Chief Gaika, who died in November, probably accounting in some measure for the lull and discontinuance of preparations for actual war, and the Governor left the Border Chiefs (with the exception of Gaika, who was too ill, and Macomo too sulky to attend) under the impression they were satisfied and had forgotten all former imagined injuries, although His Excellency had been compelled, as an act of justice to the Colonists, at the beginning of his administration, to adopt the more efficient and older mode of checking their disposition to thieve, by reverting to the system of reprisal.

* This Institution was conceived in a spirit of benevolence and strict justice to the Hottentot race—the plan somewhat Utopian when Latin and Greek were attempted to be taught to the semi-civilized. Certain of the Superintendents too were badly selected, and as far as regards the natives, the choice could not have been more unfortunate.

A few other events belong to this period. The wreck of *L'Eole*, a French vessel, on the 12th April, at the Guanga River, to the west of the Bashee, where the commander, four passengers, and seven others perished. The remainder were rescued by a trader when the Kafirs were about to put them to death. They were then sent to a missionary station, and thence forwarded to Graham's Town, where they were most hospitably entertained.

The Wesleyan missionary, the Rev. Mr. Archbell, and two traders, Messrs. Schoon and McLuckie, penetrated the far unknown regions to the north of the Colony, and the Rev. Mr. Moffatt, of Kuruman, with the Rev. Mr. Archbell, visited the Zulu devastator of the unfortunate and semi-civilized tribe of Bechuanas, Moselikatze, who they found had now settled down at the Magaliesbergen or Kashan Mountains, in about Lat. 26°, Long. 28°.

1830.—The nature of occurrences in the Western portion of the Colony, where peace is the normal condition, and that of the Eastern, is generally of so different a character that with every disposition to blend them into one consecutive series I find it difficult and often impossible, and therefore, unless where practicable, must continue to treat them separately, giving, however, the *pas*, as a matter of courtesy, where I can, to the elder and venerable sister. The earliest event then of note is the withdrawal of the cartoon or Paper Currency, the value of which had by authority been reduced to eighteenpence the rix-dollar (originally issued, on security of public property, at the rate of four shillings), and substituting silver coinage in exchange. In July the first examination of the pupils of the South African College, lately established, gave great satisfaction to the people of Cape Town, and this institution, as it was hoped, has had the most beneficial effects upon the Colonial youth, showing their capability for literary and scientific attainments, and that those who have been sent thence to collegiate establishments elsewhere were fully able to compete with Europeans for academical honours. To these events there is to be added another of an unpleasant kind regarding the then

one great Colonial staple, and which I shall quote *verbatim* from a Cape Town authority :—" November 6th.—Very unfavourable accounts 'from England of the prices and demand for Cape wine' are received, 'caused partly by a glut of the article, and partly by the disgraceful trash prepared and vended by some pretended wine-merchants in the Colony.' "

In the East, notwithstanding the late arrangements for its pacification, it was found necessary to dispatch a commando against certain native villages whose inhabitants had been guilty of the common crime, cattle-lifting, on which occasion a Chief named Zekoe was justifiably shot—a circumstance, however, giving rise afterwards to much angry discussion, and involving in the sequel the character of one of the leading Dutch Colonists. In the early part of the year, the eminent Superintendent of the London Society's Missions, the Rev. Dr. Philip, and the talented editor of the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, Mr. Fairbairn, visited the Frontier and Border Kafirs ; and it was generally believed that, actuated by a morbid philanthropy, they indulged in indiscreet communications with the barbarians in regard to what they considered wrongs, by holding out prospects of a surrender by the Colony of the ceded territory,* and thus adding to the latent flame of discontent and restlessness. Be this as it may, the circumstance it is impossible to omit, for it initiated an unfortunate estrangement thus early between the Frontier inhabitants and these gentlemen, and which was aggravated by the gifted editor, who in an evil hour lent his powerful pen to ridicule and asperse the Settlers while smarting under the unprovoked and intolerable depredations of the savages—a line of conduct, it is to be regretted, he pursued for a series of years to their injury and that of the Colonial character. At this time, too, a London Mission School was planted in the Kat River Settlement, where, as already remarked, intrusted to

* *Vide* evidence before Parliamentary Committee on Aborigines in 1835 and 1836, given by Col. Wade, Rev. Mr. Young, Major Dundas, and others ; Sir B. D'Urban's Despatches, Boyce's Notes.

improper persons, it became the prolific source of future misfortunes, "native rights" being too zealously taught, to the neglect of inculcating their corresponding "duties."

Wool, the farming of which had so lately been introduced at the Eastern end of the Colony, began now to figure for the first time among its exports, the quantity being 4,500 lbs., value £222; while that of the West, commenced in 1812, stood at 38,907 lbs., value £1,945.*

Another town (Colesberg) was added to the Eastern Province this year by its foundation on the old boundary line of the Colony, near Plettenberg's Baaken; and Graham's Town initiated a movement for municipal privileges.

1831.—In March an institution new to the native-born Colonists was first attempted at Cape Town—"The South African Fire and Life Assurance Company"—the success of which was so marked that similar corporations have since been established throughout the Colony. In April (13th) another and costly, but important mountain pass was opened at the Houw Hoek, leading from the East to Sir Lowry Cole's Pass, and in the same mountain range; and in the same month one of the Cape Town streets (St. George's) was lighted up by oil lamps for the first time, and by subscription. Since then, the town—"the metropolis"—had for a short period the benefit of gas lights, but through the niggardly economy of the Town Council for some years past, up to the present (1869), the inhabitants are denied that—not luxury but—essential, probably satisfied, good pious people, with the ejaculation—"Lucerna pedibus meis." A new Savings Bank was successfully established in Cape Town by J. Marshall, Esq., branches of which now extend far and wide, and have been of great service to the middle classes of society. In the Eastern Province the only circumstance deserving farther, but not unimportant, notice is the establishment of the *Graham's Town Journal* (December 30), a periodical which,

* Relative progress of wool farming in the two Provinces:—

West, in 1866, 5,022,610 lbs., value £275,391.

East ,, 30,508,853 ,, 1,735,298.

amid the wreck of many other more pretentious papers, and carried through very stormy political crises, still survives.*

1833.—The discoveries made within the last few years from the Colony by sportsmen, travellers, traders, and others in the vast interior on the North, nearly to the tropic and North-East, stimulated the people of Cape Town to undertake similar enterprises. The matter was first taken up by the Literary Society in that metropolis, and on the 24th June a large meeting was held, when it was decided to equip an expedition into Central Africa, with the patronage and generous aid of Government, and supported by public subscription, under the management of the celebrated naturalist, Dr. Andrew Smith, M.D., aided by a staff of artists, scientific and other gentlemen, all unpaid, and volunteers. This party did not leave until the month of July the following year, but the result may as well be anticipated here. Furnished with all the appliances for success, for some reasons, never satisfactorily explained, it reached no farther than the country of the Zulu Chief Moselikatze (Lat. $25^{\circ} 24'$, Long. $27^{\circ} 47'$), no geographical facts were added to our knowledge, no narrative of the journey was ever produced by the doctor, and the only gratification the public received for their subscriptions and the intense interest excited, was the exhibition at Cape Town of some beautiful drawings of scenery, &c., from the facile pencil of Charles Bell, Esq.,

* The first number of this periodical was printed by a press brought from England in 1820 by Mr. Godlonton (now a member of the Legislative Council) and two other British immigrants, with the intention of establishing a newspaper in the Albany Settlement, hoping to establish a means of intercommunion of thought between themselves and the Dutch inhabitants: but this did not suit the arbitrary Government of that period, so the authorities at Cape Town took possession of the infectious machine while the Settler ship (the *Chapman*) was in Table Bay, and paid for it. Some years afterwards, it was sent to Graaff-Reinet to print Government notices and other innocuous matters, and then, after a considerable interval, was repurchased by Mr. Godlonton, and, strange to say, fulfilled its original mission. It is now preserved in "cotton and lavender" as one of the South African "curiosities of literature."

the present Surveyor-General, and subjects of natural history, splendidly portrayed by George Ford, Esq. The latter were published in England by Dr. Smith.*

Administration of Acting-Governor Lieutenant-Colonel T. F. Wade.

FROM AUGUST 10, 1833, TO JANUARY 16, 1834.

1833.—His Excellency Sir L. Cole having left the Colony in August, its government devolved on the next in command, Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, a gentleman much respected, of high attainments, and decided character. The short period of his office afforded no great opportunity for the display of his abilities, but some idea may be formed of his talents by a perusal of his evidence before the Aborigines Committee in 1836; for nothing can be more straightforward, lucid, and well arranged than the statements he laid before the members of that body.

Before entering upon the succeeding Government, one of the most important in the Colonial history, it may be summarized that during 1833 serious complications with the native tribes on the Border had arisen, mainly attributable to the indulgent vacillations in the conduct of the chief military authority there, and the cupidinous character of the Kafirs threatening—what they meant to accomplish—some dire disaster.†

* *Vide Steedman's Wanderings and South African Adventures*, where will be found a considerable amount of information regarding this expedition, and the progress of discoveries made in the continent from the Cape of Good Hope.

† The depredations for ten years, *i.e.* from 1824 to end of 1833, had been at the rate of 74 horses and 1,464 cattle annually, few of which were recovered; and, to show the persistency of this thievish disposition on the part of the Kafir races, Professor Lichenstein, the traveller, may be quoted, who says the Colonists then (1801) had lost 858 horses, 3,959 sheep and goats, and 39,949 horned cattle.

SECTION IV.

Administration of Governor Sir B. D'Urban, G.C.B.

FROM JANUARY 16, 1834, TO JANUARY 22, 1838.

1834—Arrival of Governor and Sir John Herschel*—The Governor delayed at Cape Town—Vagrancy—Kat River agitation—Its effect on the Kafirs—Disturbances on Border—Hintza's conduct—Macomo commences hostilities—Colony invaded, 21st December—State of British Settlement at the time. 1835—Confederate Chiefs propose Peace—Hintza aiding Confederates—Governor sends Envoy to him—He declines an interview—Governor declares War—Hintza's Kraal surprised—He arrives at Head-quarters—Conditions of Peace offered to him.

1834.—ON the 16th of January the new Governor, Sir Benjamin D'Urban "The Good," arrived in the Western metropolis, where, by unavoidable circumstances, at a most critical period of Frontier affairs, he was too long delayed; but his presence at the seat of Government was rendered almost imperative, for the following reasons:—Owing to the extensive prevalence of thefts of stock by wandering natives, Hottentots and others, an universal demand arose for some legislation to repress the growing and intolerable evil which even the Commissioner-General,

* In the same vessel with the Governor arrived Sir John Herschel. This illustrious astronomer remained in the Colony for a period of four years, where he examined in the exactest manner, and under our favourable skies, the whole Southern Celestial Hemisphere. He also suggested meteorological observations being taken, since which a commission has been created (1859), and is now in full operation. Sir John's "expedition to the Cape was undertaken at his own expense, and he declined to accept the indemnity afterwards offered to him by the British Government." On the publication of his work on the Southern Hemisphere the Astronomical Society voted him a testimonial. While in the Colony he took a deep interest in all its affairs, especially in the cause of education. He became President of the South African Literary and Scientific Institution, sitting in Cape Town, and here he displayed that wonderful condescension, not altogether common in *savans* of such high attainments as his own, by making the subjects of his lectures, even the most abstruse, comprehensible to hearers of intelligence infinitely inferior to his own, and was always ready and solicitous to afford explanation to a querist.

as expressed in a letter of the 20th February, addressed to the Clerk of the Council, D. M. Percival, Esq., considered necessary. General Bourke's Ordinance of 1828 (the 50th) had emancipated the Hottentots, or rather defined the actual rights of all coloured people, about which difference prevailed, but it was at the same time intended to supplement that provision, good and wise *per se*, by some explanatory enactment to protect property and put down vagabondism. This was neglected, and so General Bourke reaped the laurels of a "Liberator," leaving all the obloquy of a restraining law to his less fortunate successors. Another reason also for the Governor's detention was that he awaited an "Order in Council" from home relative to the Slave Emancipation.

On the 11th May His Excellency laid before his Legislative Council the draft of "An Ordinance" (applicable only to those who had no homes or visible means of subsistence) "for the Better Suppression of Vagrancy in this Colony,"* and invited the opinions of the magistrates and others upon the subject. No sooner was this draft published than a howl of indignation was commenced by all the *soi-disant* friends of the coloured races. The Rev. the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society at the Cape set the example of opposition, in a memorial to the Legislative Council, dated the 29th of May, which was

* "We have a notable good law at Corinth,
Where, if an idle fellow outruns reason,
Feasting and junketing at furious cost,
The Sumptuary Proctor calls upon him
And thus begins to sift him. You live well!
But have you well to live? You squander freely!
Have you the wherewithal? Have you the fund
For these outgoings? If you have, go on.
If you have not, we'll stop you in good time,
Before you outrun honesty; for he
Who lives we know not how, must live by plunder;
Either he picks a purse, or robs a house,
Or is accomplice with some knavish gang;—
This a well-ordered city will not suffer—
Such vermin we expel."

DIPHILUS of Sinope (*circa* B.C. 200).

followed by missionaries of some other denominations. The extremest resistance, however, was at the Hottentot Settlement at the Kat River, where the resident teacher, a white man, married to a Hottentot or half-caste, had extensive influence; but even here there was a difference of opinion. Among the Hottentots had been located a number of other coloured people, whom the nomenclature of the day somewhat coarsely denominated "Bastaards" (as the Griquas were originally and correctly named); these were under the religious instruction of the Rev. Mr. Thomson, eighty of whom signed a memorial in *favour* of the Vagrancy Act, themselves being possessed of some property, and having experienced the evils so generally complained of. So furious was the enmity displayed by the Hottentots, that the lives of these dissidents were imperilled, and to keep the agitation alive the teacher very inconsiderately wrote to other missionaries, recommending them and their congregations to hold the 18th August as a day of humiliation and prayer to Almighty God that it may please Him to arrest the impending evil.* This turbulence immediately on the boundary was keenly watched and adroitly taken advantage of by the ever-ready plotting Chief Macomo, who steadily fanned a flame likely to kindle the embers of more than latent discontent among all his tribe. He therefore simulated piety, attended prayer-meetings, and worked upon the minds of these people so successfully that, as deposed by the Chief Tyali and others† after the war, "it was the language of the Hottentots that set us on fire." And there can be little doubt that, but for a very prudent and precautionary disposition of the military force under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Armstrong, commanding at the Kat River, overawing the disaffected, they would then (as they did in 1851) have joined the Kafirs in their invasion.

On the 20th November an incident occurred which

* Letter of Rev. Mr. Reed to Rev. Mr. Thomson, 14th August, 1834.

† *Vide* Minutes of Proceedings of Court of Inquiry, held at Fort Willshire, August and September, 1836, upon death of Hintza; evidence of Tyali, Eno, Botman, Xoxo, and other Kafir Chiefs.

precipitated hostilities between the Kafirs and Colonists, expected by the borderers, but unforeseen by the Cape Town Government, proving not only the intention of the Kafirs, but how well and how long they had prepared for the conflict. A farmer named Nel had seven horses stolen from him, which were traced to the village of the Chief Eno, living on Colonial sufferance, and on condition of good behaviour, on the ceded neutral territory; restoration was demanded, and as usual shirked. A patrol of military was then sent, and, after vain attempts to get redress, some cattle were seized, in value considered sufficient to meet the farmer's losses. On driving these animals away, the Kafirs followed in numbers, with menaces, and on the officer (Ensign Sparkes) threatening to fire if they continued to molest, he was told he "dared not" ("It is a lie; what is said they dare not do"). He was dogged by the pursuers, and at length wounded by an assagai thrown by one of them.

Coupled with this audacious outrage, there were other suspicious circumstances in the conduct of the Kafirs. For some considerable time, their depredations had been chiefly confined to horses, an indication of covert mischief. The demeanour too of the natives nearest the Colony, upon which they were crowding, despite the alleged oppressions of the Colonists, had become insolent and overbearing, and the Paramount Chief Hintza, who claimed authority over the whole Amakosa nation, and who lived near the Wesleyan Missionary Station, "Butterworth," west of the river Kei, began to ill-treat and plunder British subjects, 250 of whom were residing and trafficking in his country with his permission, and under his pledged protection; and at length his violence culminated in the murder, on the 13th July, of a trader named Purcell, living close to the Chief's kraal, and the robbery of his store, for which no redress was afforded; and on its perpetration Hintza removed northward to the Amava, one of the affluents of the Kei, where he could have readier and less watched intercourse with the Gaika Chiefs, Tyali, Macomo, and others.

The affair with Ensign Sparkes could not, of course, be overlooked or tolerated, and a party of the Cape Rifles, under Lieutenant Sutton, of the 75th Regiment, on the 11th December, was therefore ordered to remove all the Kafirs living in the neighbourhood of the Umguela. Here he found the natives assembled in considerable force, and on ordering them to move away, they showed unmistakeable indications of resistance. At a ravine near the Kat River military post, to which some horses stolen from Fort Beaufort had been clearly traced a few days before—to Tyali's kraal, ten miles within the boundary—the patrol captured some cattle, and informed the Kafirs that these would be retained only until Nel's horses were restored. The Kafirs then attacked the patrol, and a skirmish ensued; one of the Cape Corps was wounded, two Kafirs killed and two wounded, and the patrol, after being obliged to abandon the cattle, were only rescued by a detachment from Fort Beaufort. Among the Kafirs wounded was Klo-Klo, a brother of the Amagaika Chief Tyali, one of the principal fomentors of the coming hostilities. Of the events following this affair, up to the 18th December, the Rev. Mr. Chalmers, a Missionary residing with the Kafirs, gives an interesting and lucid account. It is evident from his statements the barbarians were eager for the fray, for which the late affair gave them, as they thought, a favourable excuse. A deep-laid plan to entrap and get into their clutches Lieut.-Colonel Somerset, Commandant of the Frontier, was got up, which fortunately failed; and on the 21st Macomo commenced actual hostilities by robbing and murdering some farmers on the lower part of the Kat River; and two days after, the terrific storm, with all the force and intensity of a tropical hurricane, broke over the British Settlements, aided by the firebrand and the deadly assagai.

The reader is requested to take here a hasty glance at the aspect of the doomed British Settlement as it appeared but one week before this tremendous and unprovoked onslaught. The little Colony, so lately commenced, notwithstanding all its previous difficulties, had established a

growing centre of civilization, and fully recovered from the natural effects of transplantation from another soil. From innumerable happy hamlets the curling smoke-wreath ascended amid the forest trees surrounding the humble but comfortable dwellings. On the soft sward of the homesteads gambolled "legions" of blithesome little innocent children, unsuspecting of danger. Sleek cattle and sheep by thousands grazed on the verdant hills and along the lovely valleys threaded by some bubbling stream. From the woods resounded the axe—the hammer on its anvil beside the glowing forge. The plough quietly followed the steady-going oxen, showing how busily engaged were the inhabitants in their industrious occupations, little dreading the "Damocles" weapon so suddenly to descend. From being an entirely consuming community, as at first, the Settlers had secured more than daily provision, established a commerce with the home they had left—in very many instances poor adventurers—to the annual value of £125,000, and that despite obstacles enough to appal the most steadfast; but, as Lord Bacon says, "It was not with them as with other men whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." They had at length set their feet on the high road to prosperity; but, alas! within less than fourteen days, the labours of fourteen years were at once annihilated. Forty-four persons were at once murdered, 369 dwellings consumed, 261 pillaged, and 172,000 head of live-stock carried off by the savage, who had no cause of quarrel against the peaceful inhabitants. What aggravated this wicked inroad was the fact that during the great part of the year the Governor had commenced special negotiations for new, and to them (the Kafirs) a most advantageous system of relations, the details of which His Excellency had, through the Rev. Dr. Philip, then on a tour in Kafirland, entered into with the Chiefs, and all except Tyali had expressed satisfaction.

The enemy, in overwhelming force of from 8,000 to 10,000, entered the Settlement in the night between the 21st and 22nd of December, just before the looked-for

Christmas festival, and along a line of thirty miles of frontier, without even attracting the notice of the Missionaries among them, so covert were the conspirators, boasting that now they would build their huts and villages at Algoa Bay; and by the 26th December their vanguard was already in the vicinity of Uitenhage, nearly one hundred miles westward of the Great Fish River, and only twenty from that of their threatened destination. So sudden and irresistible was the invasion that several extraordinary, and, in any other circumstances, ludicrous hairbreadth escapes took place. One in particular, among many others, came to the writer's personal knowledge, where a lady was in the homely act of preparing the conventional and time-honoured Advent pudding—in fact, “welding” the ingredients, when her husband rushed in, caught her up, to her surprise, as she was then attired, thrust her on a horse, and galloped off for “dear life.” His houses—one a very handsome and costly structure, just finished, with two others of lesser pretensions on neighbouring farms belonging to him—were burnt to the ground, his large herds of cattle swept off from all three properties by the blood-stained and infuriated invaders, and this gentleman, like very many others, who in the morning arose in the most prosperous circumstances, was that night little better than a beggar, without a change of apparel for himself and family.

Before the close of the year all that remained of the flourishing District of Albany was Graham's Town, the village of Salem, and the Missionary Station of Théopolis, into which places the inhabitants had fled for shelter.

Within eight days from the time the savages burst into the Colony, a body of them, with their booty, returned into Kafirland, as the Rev. Mr. Chalmers describes, “exulting in their own might and wisdom, because they have been able to obtain so much ill-gotten gain; and unless a check be given,” wrote he, “they will in a few days return to the Colony with redoubled fury. They are a wicked and ungodly race. They expect the Hottentots of Kat River will not fire upon them, but stand neutral,

for they are their friends.”* This statement appears in a communication from the reverend gentleman, dated Chumi, 1st January, 1835, where a meeting was held, the Missionaries forced to be present, trembling for their lives; for, as they wrote, “an angry look just now would be sufficient to send us all into eternity.” Here the Rev. Mr. Weir was compelled to pen a letter from the Chiefs with “overtures for peace,” a proposal to abstain from farther hostility until they could get an answer to a demand for compensation for wounding Klo-Klo, some charges against Colonel Somerset, all of which were without foundation, and this insolent document was dictated and dispatched only ten days after the invasion began, but after they had secured their immense plunder, were still reeking with the blood of the Colonists, and had laid waste a thriving and entire district of the Colony.†

1835.—The news of the invasion reached Cape Town by express, and took the authorities and public there as much by surprise as it did the borderers; but the most energetic measures were at once undertaken. Colonel Smith was instantly dispatched to the Frontier overland, and reached Graham’s Town, a distance of 600 miles, in six days. Martial law was immediately proclaimed over the two border districts, Albany and Somerset, but meanwhile Fort Willshire, on the Keiskamma River, and Kafir’s Drift Post, on the Great Fish, were obliged to be evacuated, so fiery and rapid had been the savages’ assault, and they were burned by the enemy. Of the condition of the country as it was found by the Colonel on his arrival we have his own words:—“Already are seven thousand persons dependent upon the Government for the necessaries of life. The land is filled with the lamentations of the widow and the fatherless. The indelible impressions already made

* The Kafirs made no attack upon the Kat River Settlement until after six weeks had elapsed from the breaking out of hostilities.

† The commerce of the Eastern Province only commenced in 1830, when direct shipping communication with England began, and now (1834) was equal to one-fifth of the Western Province; the following year it rose, and now (1869) has doubled it in amount.

upon myself by the horrors of an irruption of savages upon a scattered population almost exclusively engaged in the peaceful occupation of husbandry, are such as to make me look on those I have witnessed in a service of thirty years, ten of which in the most eventful period of war, as trifles to what I have now witnessed, and compel me to bring under consideration, as forcibly as I am able, the heartrending position in which a very large portion of the inhabitants of this Frontier are at present placed, as well as their intense anxiety respecting their future condition."

Sir Benjamin D'Urban soon followed Colonel Smith, and arrived at Graham's Town on the 20th January. Offensive operations were at once commenced to clear the Colony of the invaders, and to collect the means for carrying hostilities into their own territory, there to recover the booty and to punish them for their treachery. It would swell out the bulk of this volume too much, and it is unnecessary to follow up all the details, date by date, of the skirmishes and engagements with the foe, all of which will be found in full by consulting the authorities indicated at the end of this compilation.

Early in the month of February, it was found that the savages, flushed with success and encumbered by the cattle they had carried off, were retiring into the wooded fastnesses of the Great Fish River and the more distant but equally secure recesses of the Amatola range of mountains, on the sources of the river Buffalo. At the former place they were known to be in strength, and being followed both by Colonel Smith and Colonel Somerset, they were attacked upon several occasions, and lost much of their coveted and ill-gotten prey. The Governor, having matured his plans, marshalled the few troops at his disposal, collected the Burgher force required, and fixed his head-quarters at the re-occupied post of Fort Willshire; and being convinced by abundant evidence of the complicity of Hintza with the invading Chiefs, as reported from the Missionary Stations within his country, and by the facts which had transpired, that large droves of the

captured cattle had been secreted with his knowledge in his territory, that many of his own people were "out" with the confederate Chiefs fighting against the Colony, some having returned wounded, and that the traders under his protection had by his orders been seized and plundered—dispatched a special and trustworthy Dutch farmer, Mr. Van Wyk, to that Chief, stating his desire to remain on friendly terms, but at the same time requiring an immediate and unequivocal declaration of his intentions, and intimating that if he afforded the Amakosa Chiefs shelter and protection, as it was reported he had promised them, and did not restore the booty removed to his territory, he would be treated as an enemy.* To this message Hintza, declining a proposed interview, sent with Van Wyk one of his Chiefs, but as the object was only to gain time, the Governor had no alternative left but to menace the truculent Chief's own dominion. On the 14th April His Excellency therefore moved with the first division of his forces, and on the 15th arrived on the right bank of the Kei, the western boundary of Hintza's particular territory.

On the arrival at this "rubicon," a parley took place, when a Councillor, a brother of the Great Chief, Booko, was informed that the army was about to cross the stream and proceed through the country with pacific intentions, as far as he (Hintza) was concerned, if he answered satisfactorily the questions put to him through the envoy, Van Wyk. Previous to fording the river, the Governor issued general orders to the effect that, on entering Hintza's territory, it was not to be treated as an enemy's. Officers were directed to explain to their men the difference between the territory they were now entering and that which they were leaving; no kraals must be burned or pillaged; no gardens, woods, or corn-fields meddled with;

* There was evidence also to prove he had, previous to the invasion, tried to inveigle Faku, the head of the Amapondas, living on the Umzimvooboo or St. John's River, to join the confederacy, but that Chief, who had always been a friend to the British, declined.—*Vide* Narrative of the Rev. Mr. Gardiner of Natal, p. 241.

that infringement of these rules would be visited by the utmost rigour of martial law; that unless hostilities were first committed by the natives, or that the troops received other orders, they were to abstain from all acts of violence, and if it be found necessary or expedient to resort to measures of hostility, due notice would be given of it.* Thus every possible precaution was taken to act with forbearing mildness and maintain peace with the Great Chief and his people.

After crossing the river and arriving at the locality where the unfortunate Purcell had been murdered and robbed, other Councillors, both of Hintza and Booko, who were still on the Ameva, within one day's journey, arrived, and by these men a message was transmitted requesting an interview with the Great Chief, it being the Governor's intention to move on until such an interview was obtained, and that it depended upon his own conduct whether he be treated as friend or foe of the British Government.

No reply having been received, the troops were moved on to the Wesleyan Missionary Station at Butterworth, which was found destroyed, but not burnt. Here a large number of Fingoes—the remains of eight powerful nations, who, broken up and scattered in the raids of the Fetcani or Mantatees under Matuana and the Zulus under Chaka, had taken refuge with Hintza, who enslaved and treated them in the most brutal manner—met the Governor, and, writhing under the intolerable yoke of the Kafirs, offered to place themselves at his disposal, but this His Excellency hesitated to accept until communication had been opened with the Great Chief, or that became hopeless.

On the 21st, a party of thirty men were sent with despatches to the Colony, under charge of an Ensign Armstrong, of the Beaufort levy, who was waylaid and murdered by some of Hintza's Kafirs. The Governor now, finding that all his overtures were not only treated with studied neglect, but that hostilities had thus been actually commenced by Hintza's people, called before him, on the

* *Vide* General Orders, 15th April, 1835.

24th April, a Councillor and Captain of the Chief, and recapitulated to him the causes of the quarrel, and at the same time stating he should now commence hostilities, and carry off all the cattle he could find; and announcing that the Fingoes would be taken under his especial protection, become subjects of the King of England, and that any violence committed upon them would meet with severe retaliation. The reasons given to this Councillor were that no notice had been taken of the message transmitted by Van Wyk, namely, the coalition with the hostile Chiefs and reception of the stolen cattle; that Purcell, a British subject, had been deliberately murdered in Hintza's country, and near his own residence, where he was with his sanction, and under his implied protection, and no effectual steps taken for the punishment of the murderer. That during a time of truce another British subject, Armstrong, had been murdered by Hintza's people, and that violence, rapine, and outrages had been committed on the British traders, and that British Missionaries, living with him under his safeguard, had been forced to flee to the Tambookie Chief Vusani to save their lives.

The Governor then formally declared war. Hostilities commenced in earnest, and within a few days a considerable number of cattle were captured, and a kraal surprised where it was supposed Hintza himself was lurking, and from which his principal wife—mother to the heir apparent (Kreli)—with difficulty escaped, leaving her personal ornaments behind. The Great Chief, reposing confidence in the imagined inaccessibility of this position, got terrified at such unexpected surprises, and at once sent in four messengers with proposals; these were, however, unhesitatingly rejected, and the bearers dismissed with the intimation that with Hintza personally—for whom a safe conduct was pledged—alone could terms be discussed.

“What had been refused to clemency was extorted by apprehension,” and accordingly the wily and ungrateful Hintza, who had refused an audience to the Governor's messenger, who had disdained to appear himself at the head-quarters of the British army, or even to send there

a duly accredited agent when required, entered the camp as an humble suppliant for peace. "He was attended by a retinue of fifty followers, and received with a courtesy he little merited by the Commander-in-Chief. It being, however, understood that he came prepared to transact business, His Excellency immediately entered into an explanation of the grounds of his displeasure and the nature of the required satisfaction."

That no point might admit of misapprehension, everything the Governor desired to communicate had been reduced to writing, and was read to Hintza by His Excellency himself, in presence of his staff, and communicated to the Chief, sentence by sentence, *seriatim*, into the Kafir tongue by the interpreter, Mr. Shepstone, at the conclusion of which the Chief expressed his perfect understanding of the whole of the conditions to be imposed, of which the following is a *resumé* :—

1st. A demand for the restoration of 50,000 cattle and 1,000 horses—25,000 cattle and 500 horses immediately, hostilities to continue until paid, and 25,000 cattle and 500 horses within one year.

2nd. The Great Chief's imperative commands upon—and to cause them to be obeyed by—the confederate Chiefs to cease hostilities and surrender all fire-arms.

3rd. To bring to condign punishment the murderers of Purcell, and to give 300 head of good cattle to the widow.

4th. The same atonement in regard to Armstrong; and

5th. For the due execution of these conditions, the delivery of two hostages.

SECTION V.

1835—April 30, Peace with Hintza—He remains as Hostage for its terms—Massacre of the Fingoes—The Governor liberates them from Slavery—Assumes British Sovereignty over Territory west of River Kei, and names it "Province of Queen Adelaide"—Hintza's perfidy and Death—His Character—Kreli, his son, acknowledged his Successor—Peace made with him—Confederate Chiefs outlawed—They submit and become British Subjects—Causes and Cost of the War—Colonists approve the Governor's proceedings.

To the proposals submitted to Hintza, as mentioned in the last Section, that Chief gave so ready and hearty an acceptance that it lulled all suspicion of any evil design lurking in his breast, and peace, with all its formalities, was concluded on the 30th of April. The Chief himself, in apparent sincerity, proffered to remain a personal hostage for the due fulfilment of its conditions, and this seemingly gracious conduct won for him such confidence with the authorities that on the 2nd May orders were issued for the evacuation of his territory. Kreli, the Chief's son, and Bookoo, the brother, had at the Chief's desire and their own joined him, but under no restraint whatever; and Hintza became the constant guest of Col. Smith, while the Governor was perhaps too lavish in making presents to the insidious barbarian.*

The camp now broke up, and His Excellency left; but no sooner, however, was his departure known than Hintza's and Bookoo's people commenced a general massacre of all the Fingoes around them. Several families, to the amount of thirty individuals, were slaughtered in cold blood close to Colonel Somerset's camp.

An account of this proceeding on the part of Hintza's people, in express contravention of the treaty just made with him, was immediately forwarded to the Governor by express, and perhaps nothing could have so keenly

* A statement published at the time states, "Hintza has received, besides others, as presents from the Governor, ten new saddles and bridles, twelve spades, two bags of beads, and other articles."

aroused his indignation as the contents of this despatch. Hintza and Bookoo were immediately summoned to his presence, and the purport of the express communicated to them. The answer of the Chief was characteristic, "Well," said he, "and what then; are they not my dogs?" This was beyond all bearance. His Excellency gave immediate orders that Hintza, Kreli, and Bookoo, and all the people with them, amounting to about 150, should be guarded; and told them that he should keep them as hostages for the safety of the Fingoes. He desired them instantly to dispatch messengers to stop the carnage; and said that if this infamous proceeding of their people continued after three hours had elapsed, he would shoot two of their suite for every Fingo that was killed; adding, that if he found any subterfuge in the message they sent—as he had discovered to be the case in some of their former messages—he would hang Hintza, Kreli, and Bookoo themselves to the tree under which they were sitting.

The Chiefs saw they were in jeopardy, and in less than ten minutes their messengers were seen scampering off at full speed in different directions with orders, which were evidently given *this time* without subterfuge; for within the limited period it was officially announced by Colonel Somerset that the Kafirs had ceased to attack the Fingoes.

His Excellency, however, well aware of the sort of people he had to deal with, deemed it unsafe to release them till he had got the Fingoes fairly across the Kei, and it was on getting there that he decided on keeping Kreli and Bookoo as hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty in regard to the cattle, as Hintza evaded giving the two Councillors asked for as hostages, and wanted to substitute two common men in their stead.

The liberation of the Fingoes having been effected, the duress of Hintza was at once relaxed, and he might have left the camp if so minded; but for reasons afterwards developed, he now made proposals to Colonel Smith to accompany him towards the Bashee River, there to superintend the surrender of the cattle he had pledged himself

to restore. Still trusting in the Chief, his suggestion was agreed upon; but before the expedition started the Governor thought proper in his presence to state to him that, in the name of His Majesty William IV., he had taken possession of all the country westward of the Kei River, from its sources in the Stormbergen to the sea; and farther, that the Chiefs Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botma, T'Slambie, and Dushani "were *for ever* expelled" from that territory, and would be treated as enemies if found therein.

Immediately after this ceremony (on the 10th May), Hintza returned to the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, who read to him, in presence of his staff, an admonitory communication, stating that he (Hintza) had sued for peace, which was granted; that he, with his son and heir, had by his own choice and free will remained as hostages for the fulfilment of the conditions of peace; that as his conduct appeared frank and honourable, hostilities had been stopped, even before the payment of the first instalment of stock; that he, the Chief, has very reluctantly complied with the second stipulation of the treaty, leaving the first, third, and fourth—the most important—still unexecuted; that under these circumstances there was full right to consider and treat him as a prisoner of war, and send him to Cape Town; but "as I am still disposed to believe his asseveration, that his presence in the midst of his people may give him the power of fulfilling his solemn agreement, I will abstain from doing so but it is upon the condition—proposed by himself—that he accompanies a division of my troops through such parts of the country as my commanding officer, Colonel Smith, may select, and exert his full power as Chief to collect the cattle and horses due, to apprehend the murderers of the two British subjects, and to supply the 300 head of cattle demanded for each of the widows of the murdered men, and that meanwhile I will retain Kreli and Bookoo, and the other followers of Hintza now in camp, with the exception of Umtine."

This communication was interpreted and read to the Chief, who declared his perfect understanding of it; and

on the same day a detachment of about 350 men of Cape Mounted Rifles, 72nd Regiment, Provisionals, and Corps of Guides marched from the encampment at the ford of the Kei, Hintza riding alongside of the Colonel, whom he spoke of as his father, and who had indeed lavished upon him every mark of kindness and confidence. "What next befel, and when and where," will be seen by the following quotation from the *Narrative of the Irruption of the Kafir Hordes*, published in 1836* :—

"On gaining the summit of the mountain from the Kei, Hintza requested, through the interpreter, to know in what position he stood, both as regarded himself and his subjects. The answer of the Colonel was distinct and candid—'Hintza, you have lived with me now nine days; you call yourself my son, and you say you are sensible of my kindness; now I am responsible to my King and to my Governor for your safe custody. Clearly understand that you have requested that the troops under my command should accompany you to enable you to fulfil the treaty of peace you have entered into. You voluntarily placed yourself in our hands as a hostage; you are, however, to look upon me as having full power over you, and if you attempt to escape you will assuredly be shot. I consider my nation at peace with yours, and I shall not molest your subjects, provided they are peaceable. When they bring in the cattle according to your commands, I shall select the bullocks, and return the cows and calves to them.' To this Hintza replied, he came out to fulfil his treaty of peace, and with no intention to escape; and that the fact of his son being in our hands was a sufficient guarantee of his sincerity. The Colonel then added, 'Very well, Hintza; act up to this and I am your friend; again I tell you, *if you attempt to escape, you will be shot.*'

"Notwithstanding these specious professions, the Colonel soon had his suspicions aroused by the following circumstances :—In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the troops reached a streamlet running into the Gona, when one of

* By the Editor of the *Graham's Town Journal*, Mr. Godlonton.

the Corps of Guides reported that two Kafirs, with five head of cattle, were near the camp, and that Hintza, on the plea of their being afraid to approach, had sent one of his people to bring them in. In place, however, of these Kafirs coming into the camp, they went off, taking with them a horse which had been sent to them by Hintza, and who declined to give any explanation on the subject. The suspicion excited by this circumstance was increased by the evasive answers given to the Colonel's repeated inquiry as to the point on which he desired the troops to move. On this subject nothing more could be elicited than 'we are going right.'

"Early the next morning the troops were in motion, passed the Guadan hills, and bivouacked on the Guanga late in the afternoon. Here Hintza was again requested by the Colonel to state explicitly where he wished them to proceed. On this occasion he was much more communicative than before, and desired that they would march towards the mouth of the Bashoe, by a route which he would point out; and he further requested that they would move at midnight. This request was the more readily acceded to, it being evident that all the cattle from the kraals in the neighbourhood had been driven in the direction pointed out. Accordingly at twelve o'clock the troops resumed their march, and continued to move forward until eight o'clock in the morning. At this time the spoor of numerous cattle driven in that direction was quite recent; but as the men had been marching for eight hours, it was necessary for them to halt and take some refreshment.

"At breakfast the Chief appeared particularly uneasy; he evidently felt disappointed at the vigilance with which all his actions had been watched, and he observed pceevishly—'What have the cattle done that you want them? or why must I see my subjects deprived of them?' Colonel Smith observed in reply to him that he need not ask those questions; he well knew the outrages committed on the Colony by his people, and that it was in redress of those wrongs the cattle were demanded. At ten o'clock

the troops were again on the march. At this time Hintza appeared in high spirits, observing rather sarcastically, 'You see how my subjects treat me; they drive their cattle from me in spite of me.' 'Hintza,' replied the Colonel, 'I do not want your subjects' cattle; I am sent for the *Colonial* cattle which have been stolen, and which I will have.' 'Then,' said the Chief, 'allow me to send Umtini, my principal Councillor, forward to tell my people I am here, that they must not drive away their cattle, and that the cattle of your nation will be alone selected.' This proposal was immediately agreed to, it appearing to hold out a chance of success, although it was quite evident that Hintza was meditating some mischief, and that the utmost caution was imperatively necessary. On the departure of Umtini, he was particularly enjoined to return that night, and which was faithfully promised. He quitted the camp at full speed, accompanied by one of Hintza's attendants, the Chief exclaiming in high spirits, 'Now you need not go to the Bashee, you will have more cattle than you can drive on the Xabecca.'

"It had been remarked that this day (the 13th) Hintza rode a remarkably strong horse, and which he appeared particularly anxious to spare from fatigue, leading him up every ascent. The path they were now in up the hill from the bed of the Xabecca was merely a narrow cattle track winding up the hill side through the tangled brushwood, and occasionally passing between a cleft in the rock. Up this steep ascent the troops were leading their horses; Colonel Smith, who was at the head of the column, being the only person mounted; behind him came Hintza and his followers, leading their horses, the Corps of Guides following in the same order. On arriving near the summit of the hill, Hintza and his attendants silently mounted and rode quickly up to the Colonel, whom they passed on one side through the bushes. The Guides observing this, immediately called out to the Colonel, who instantly exclaimed—'Hintza, stop!' At this moment the Chief, having moved on one side of the beaten track, found himself entangled by the thicket, with

no other resource but to descend into the only path by which it could be cleared. The Colonel on the first alarm had drawn a pistol, on observing which the Chief smiled with so much apparent ingenuousness, that the Colonel felt regret at his suspicions, and he permitted the Chief to move on in front of him, preceded by three of the Guides, who had mounted and pushed forward on witnessing the suspicious circumstances above detailed. On reaching the top of this steep ascent the country was perfectly open, with a considerable tongue of land running parallel with the rugged bed of the Xabecca, gradually descending for about two miles, and terminating at a bend of the river, where were several Kafir huts. On reaching this tongue the Colonel had turned round to view the troops in the rear toiling up the steep ascent, when the Chief instantly set off at full speed, passing the Guides in front, towards the huts in the distance.

“The Guides (*viz.*, Messrs. G. and W. Southey, and W. Shaw) uttering an exclamation of alarm, pursued, but without the most distant hope of overtaking the fugitive. Colonel Smith was, however, better mounted, and spurring his horse with violence, he succeeded after a smart run, and with the most desperate exertion, in overtaking him. He called him to stop; but he only urged his horse to greater exertion, stabbing at the Colonel with his assagais. The Colonel drew a pistol, but it snapped—a second was used with the like ill-success. The pursuit was continued for some distance further—the troops following in the rear as they best could. At length the Colonel, by a desperate effort, again reached the Chief and struck him with the butt-end of his pistol, which he then dropped. The Chief smiled in derision. The second pistol was hurled at him, striking him again on the back part of the head; but with no other effect than causing him to redouble his efforts to escape. They were now within about half-a-mile of the Kafir huts. The Colonel had no weapon whatever, while the Chief was armed with assagais; the case was desperate, and there was not a moment for reflection. Urging, therefore, his

horse to its utmost energy, the Colonel again got within reach of the athletic Chieftain, and seizing him by the collar of the kaross or cloak, by a violent effort he hurled him to the ground. At this moment their horses were at their utmost speed; and on Hintza being thrown, the Colonel's horse refused to obey the rein, carrying his rider forward in spite of every endeavour to stop him. The Chief, though thrown heavily, was instantly on his feet, and drawing an assagai, threw it after his assailant with so much steadiness and accuracy, that it only missed him by a few inches; he then instantly turned off at a right angle, and fled down the steep bank of the Xabecca. This momentary delay enabled the foremost of the Guides to approach to within gunshot distance; and their leader, Mr. G. Southey, instantly called out to the Chief in the Kafir tongue to stop; no heed was given to this, and he fired, wounding him in the left leg. Hintza fell, but in an instant regained his feet, and continued his flight swiftly down the hill. George Southey discharged his second barrel, and the Chief again pitched forward, but once more recovered himself, and ultimately succeeded in gaining the cover of the thicket which lines the banks of the river. Southey and Lieutenant Balfour of the 72nd Regiment followed, leaping down the shelving bank; the former keeping up, the latter down the stream. They had thus proceeded in opposite directions for some distance, when Southey was suddenly startled by an assagai striking the stone or cliff on which he was climbing; turning quickly round at the noise, he perceived a Kafir—his head and an uplifted assagai being only visible—so near him, that it was only by his recoil that he had room for the length of his gun. At the impulse of the moment he raised his piece and fired; and Hintza, the Paramount Chief of Kafirland, ceased to live. The upper part of the scalp had been completely shattered and carried away by the discharge. Southey hastily divested the body of a brass girdle, and snatching up the bundle of assagais which the Chief had retained during the whole of the arduous struggle, quitted the

spot and rejoined the troops, reporting the occurrences to the officer commanding.”*

At the time of his death numerous Kafirs were observed on the heights around the scene of the fatal encounter, and among them was Umtini, the Chief's confidential Councillor, with Hintza's servant, who had been dispatched forward under pretence of ordering the cattle to be given up, but who had evidently been employed in secreting them, and in preparing for the escape of the Chief. Leaving, therefore, the remains of the Chief to the care of these people, who must have been aware of the proceedings, the troops were collected and resumed their march towards the Umtata River to receive the cattle it had been engaged should be given up, large droves of which were visible in the distance; but the force under command being thoroughly jaded, and finding by scouts that by the orders of Hintza the cattle had begun to be driven off forty-eight hours before, Colonel Smith was forced to return to the camp on the left bank of the Bashee, from whence he arrived at the head-quarters of the Governor, on the Impotshana, where he made his official report.†

* The character of the fallen Chief, as given by those who had the best opportunities of knowing him, is that he possessed in an inveterate degree all the vices of the savage. “Ingratitude, insatiable avarice, cunning, cowardice, and cruelty—these were conspicuous in his government of his people, in his treatment of the missionaries and traders, in his machinations with the Border Chiefs to incite them to plunder and destroy the Colony, in the avidity with which he received the stolen cattle, in the studious care with which he kept aloof from personal danger, and in the cool and artful manner with which he planned and proposed to an officer who had treated him with distinguished kindness a measure calculated to lead him into a situation of such difficulty and embarrassment as should ensure his destruction. In the latter particular he had grasped at that which was beyond his reach, and he fell, the victim of his own perfidy.”

† The cattle actually taken amounted to 9,330 head, of which the Fingoes appropriated about 2,200, leaving the balance of some 7,000 to repay 111,418 carried off by the enemy.

The day succeeding Hintza's death the Frontier suffered one of its severest losses in the person of T. C. White, Esq., Major of the local Volunteers and Acting Deputy Quartermaster-General of the burgher

On the receipt of the "untoward" intelligence of the Chief's fate, His Excellency at once recognized Hintza's great son Kreli as successor, released him from all further restraint, and, having entered into a treaty of peace, dismissed him and his retainers, except Bookoo, who it was feared had had a baneful influence over the late fallen Chief, and he was therefore detained for a short time longer. Having escorted with a guard of honour the young Sovereign to the ford of the Kei, and bade him God-speed, matters being arranged with the Transkeian Chiefs, the Governor recrossed the stream, established several military posts, and proclaimed the country between the Kei and Keiskamma as annexed to the Cape Colony, under the title of the "Province of Adelaide," and its capital, on the Buffalo River, "King William's Town," in honour of their Majesties.

Within this newly-acquired territory, however, the confederate Chiefs Tyali, Macomo, &c., remained still unsubdued; and both there and even in the Settlement itself their braves were committing extensive and widespread desolation. The liberated Fingoes, who had been located between the Keiskamma and the Great Fish River, had to bear the brunt of frequent attacks by their implacable foes, and it was feared hostilities would be protracted for a considerable time. In May there appeared some little prospect of a cessation, but a message received from Hintza a little before his death encouraged longer resistance. At length a very successful engagement at the Amatolas on the 13th August so dispirited the Chiefs that they sent in overtures of surrender, "supplicated for

forces. This gentleman, an officer formerly of His Majesty's Regiment of Foot, of high literary and scientific attainments, considerable property, and a large and successful flockmaster, was treacherously set upon by the barbarians while surveying for the purpose of making an accurate topographical sketch of the country for the Governor, and barbarously murdered. This disaster took place on the 14th May, on the banks of the Bashee River, where his remains found their last resting place; and a memorial tablet in the Cathedral at Graham's Town, erected by public subscription, records the melancholy event, which was long and deeply lamented.

mercy and peace, expressed great contrition for their offences against the Colony, acknowledged the right of the King of England to the country vanquished by his army in the late campaign and taken possession of under the Proclamation of the 10th of May last, and prayed to be permitted to become His Majesty's subjects, to live under the Colonial laws, and to occupy such lands as His Excellency may think fit to assign to them within the conquered province;" and on the 17th September the final terms of submission were adjusted, and peace proclaimed at Fort Willshire.

This totally unprovoked aggression by the savages inflicted upon the population settled on the Border a loss, in stock swept off and other property, dwellings destroyed, &c., to the sum of £288,625; in lives, by murder on the invasion, of 44 persons; in the war of repression, 84 killed and 30 wounded; and to the Imperial Treasury, a sum not less than £300,000.* The principal trophy of the war, which lasted nine months—a glorious trophy in itself, although attempted to be depreciated—was the liberation from brutal servitude of some 15,000 Fingoes—an imperishable honour to the name of "the good and great Sir Benjamin D'Urban." This people he located in the neutral or ceded territory, as was conceived "the best barrier against the entrance of the Kafirs into the Great

* To which must be added the loss of the Kafir trade. This civilizing intercourse was inaugurated by Sir R. S. Donkin in 1821, put a stop to by Lord C. Somerset, but re-established in 1824, producing a return of articles of native growth or industry from that period up to 1829 of the value of above £10,000 annually; it then increased rapidly, and in 1832 reached to £34,000, and in 1833 above £40,000, when the disturbances crushed it altogether. There were from 60 to 70 trading establishments, reaching to St. John's River, just previous to the war, employing some 200 people. The early barter was made with beads, buttons, brass wire, &c., for ivory, gum, hides, &c.; but at length many Kafirs discarded the filthy skin kaross or mantle for blankets, and a demand had begun for woollen goods, kerseys, coarse flannels, baize, cotton articles, and handkerchiefs, knives, axes, iron and tin pots, and other hardware. Many of the large fortunes accumulated on the Frontier commenced with this interior commerce.

Fish River jungle, and as they might furnish a good supply of free labour to the Colonists."

There is little need of travelling very far in search of the causes of the misfortunes which assailed the inhabitants of the exposed Frontier in 1834-5; they are to be found in the natural cupidity of the savage mind, the irresistible temptation of fine herds of cattle in their immediate vicinity, easily removable, and for want of labour somewhat negligently guarded, the nature of the Border—an almost impenetrable thicket—the injudicious diminution of military protection,* the neglect of reiterated warning made to the Colonial as well as to the British Government, the remoteness of authority, concentrated as it was at Cape Town, 600 miles away, the continued vacillation of the Frontier policy, if it ever deserved the name of policy at all, the indiscreet tampering, to use no harsher term, by unauthorized pseudo-philanthropists with the savages, previous to their invasion, and the persistency with which they caused prolongation of the war by the countenance given them by these *soi-disant* friends of the coloured races while they were sitting quietly by their comfortable hearths in Cape Town.

The measures pursued by the Governor were approved by the great body of the Colonists—the very small clique of the self-named philanthropists of Cape Town excepted, who gave the key to real philanthropists at home. A large meeting took place on the 30th June in the metropolis, which resolved upon an address to His Excellency, eulogizing His Excellency for "the vigour, temper, forbearance, and justice which had marked the whole course of his

* In 1819 there were on the Frontier two companies Royal Artillery, one of Light Cavalry, five battalions Infantry (5,000), the Royal African Corps, the Cape Corps Cavalry, and Cape Corps Infantry. In 1834 these were reduced to one company Royal Artillery, three battalions Infantry, and Cape Corps Cavalry to take charge of a Settlement founded by Parliamentary patronage and peopled by loyal British subjects, of whom the *Times* newspaper of the period justly observed—"These men (the Settlers) the Home Government must take charge of; they were not sent out for the purpose of farming and fighting simultaneously; they were sent to be protected in their industry."

proceedings against the Kafirs, who without provocation had devastated the Eastern Frontier." Similar testimonials were transmitted from most of the Border divisions, and among them one from Albany, demanding inquiry into the scandalous libels against the character of its inhabitants. The Legislative Council also, on the 24th November, endorsed the general sentiment as to "the wise and benevolent system he had inaugurated;" in short, the new policy gained "golden opinions from all sorts of people," and it was generally believed the vexed Frontier question had been settled for ever.

SECTION VI.

1836—Governor returns to Cape Town—Lord Glenelg's Despatch of 28th December, 1835, received, condemning the Colonists and justifying the Kafirs—Sources of his Information—Conduct of Cape Press and London Society's Missionaries in Colony—Parliamentary Aborigines Committee—Captain Stockenstrom appointed Lieutenant-Governor—Arrives—His reception at Graham's Town—Reverses the Governor's Measures, and makes Treaties with the Kafirs—Colonel Smith tried before Commission of Inquiry on Death of Hintza—Cape Punishment Bill—Governor D'Urban ratifies Stockenstrom Treaties, but under Protest, &c. 1837—The Governor dismissed—Lord Glenelg takes upon himself, personally, the responsibility of his Kafir System—Peter Retief and others abandon the Colony—Working of new System—Frontier Colonists repeat their call for Inquiry—The petty Chief Tzatzoe introduced to Royal Family.

1836.—His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban returned from the Frontier to Cape Town in January, and on the 15th was fêted at a banquet given by the public of the metropolis to welcome him, and where his conduct was rapturously panegyricized by influential persons belonging to all classes. Rumours, however, soon began to be circulated from the London Society's Mission-house, Cape Town, that the Governor's policy would not meet with approval in high quarters—indeed, from the same source, the probability of reversal was promulgated in the past July—and His Excellency therefore addressed the Secretary of State, on the 23rd February, warning him of the evils likely to arise from any serious change in his measures, and that among them would be a great migration of the Dutch farmers from the Colony into the interior, who would in that case be afraid to remain longer upon the Eastern Frontier. In these representations also concurred Colonel Smith, the Commandant on the Border, Captain Stretch, Messrs. Richard Southey, Fynn, and others whose opinions were of any value.

The anxiously-looked-for and Missionary-predicted despatch of Lord Glenelg—a fatal one for the Colony and his own reputation—at length arrived. It was dated the 28th December, 1835; containing, *mirabile dictu*, a complete exculpation of the Kafirs, and threw the whole

blame of their recent inroad upon the Colonists themselves. These are the Right Honourable Secretary's astounding words—words entirely disproved by previous and subsequent events:—"IN THE CONDUCT WHICH WAS PURSUED TOWARDS THE KAFIR NATION BY THE COLONISTS, AND THE PUBLIC AUTHORITIES OF THE COLONY, THROUGH A LONG SERIES OF YEARS, THE KAFIRS HAD AMPLE JUSTIFICATION OF THE LATE WAR; THEY HAD A PERFECT RIGHT TO HAZARD THE EXPERIMENT, HOWEVER HOPELESS, OF EXTORTING BY FORCE THAT REDRESS WHICH THEY COULD NOT EXPECT OTHERWISE TO OBTAIN; AND THAT THE CLAIM OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE NEW PROVINCE BOUNDED BY THE KEISKAMMA AND THE KEI MUST BE RENOUNCED. IT RESTS UPON A CONQUEST RESULTING FROM A WAR IN WHICH, AS FAR AS I AM AT PRESENT ENABLED TO JUDGE, THE ORIGINAL JUSTICE IS ON THE SIDE OF THE CONQUERED, NOT OF THE VICTORIOUS PARTY."* And the despatch concluded by conveying a decided disapproval of all the acts of Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

The effect of this terrible denouncement can be well conceived, even at this distance of time. The English Settlers were disgusted; all the ties of affection to their

* Beyond this, Lord Glenelg reproved the Governor for terming the Kafirs, in his Proclamation, "*irreclaimable savages*," and proceeded to show that that character did not fairly apply to them. He condemned in the strongest terms the language of the Wesleyan Missionaries, and contrasts them with the Missionaries of the London and Glasgow Societies, and enters minutely into the case of Hintza. "He was slain," says his Lordship, "when he had no longer the means of resistance, but covered with wounds, and vainly attempting to conceal his person in the water, into which he had plunged as a refuge from his pursuers. Why the last wound was inflicted, and why this unhappy man, regarded with an attachment almost idolatrous by his people, was not seized by the numerous armed men who had reached his place of concealment, has never yet been explained. It is stated to me, on evidence which it is impossible to receive without serious attention, that Hintza repeatedly cried for mercy; that the Hottentots present granted the boon, and abstained from killing him; that this office was then undertaken by Mr. Southey; and that then the dead body of the fallen Chief was basely and inhumanly mutilated." It will not cause surprise that his Lordship, disabused of his hasty opinion, retracted all he here urged in the case of the perfidious barbarian, as will be shortly seen.

native land binding the Dutch inhabitants were violently disrupted; and the dream of migration became a vast reality. All confidence was destroyed. Distrust and despair took its place, and this lamentable state of feeling was increased when it was made known that the appointment, made only two months after the date of this condemnation, and at the recommendation of Lord Glenelg, of a Lieutenant-Governor, charged with the views of the Secretary of State, was no other than the late Commissioner-General, Captain Stockenstrom, a Colonist of great natural ability, but who it was understood had of late given evidence against his fellow countrymen, although hitherto classed among their patriots.

The origin of the rumours just alluded to, preceding the arrival of this cruel despatch, may be found in the proceedings of a small but active party in the South African metropolis, which commenced a systematic crusade, under the guise of humanity, against the Government and Colonists. During the whole progress of hostilities, that most influential and talented public journal, the *South African Advertiser*, printed in Cape Town—the editor of which had allied himself to the ultra and not quite disinterested views of the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society there, the Rev. Dr. Philip—employed its utmost, and not very scrupulous, endeavours, in an unremitting series of articles, to prejudice the case of the Colony, and mislead the minds of the Government and people of England. This was effected by misrepresenting the causes of the war, the extent of danger incurred by the invasion, and the conduct of the officers engaged in repressing the savages. A few quotations are here necessary, and will suffice. They began in December, 1834, and ran through the following year, *e.g.*: “Violence on the part of the Colonists had begot violence on the part of the Kafirs.” “Hintza was not engaged in the war.” “There is no confederacy of the Chiefs.” “There never was danger.” “Statements put forth by the *Graham’s Town Journal* are false.” “There is a clamour raised by conscious

guilt, to conceal terror and mislead the official avenger." "We have been condensing the population of a barbarian tribe on our Frontier."* "The whole nation is now compressed into a corner of their ancient possessions." "The extension of the Colony will not be listened to for a moment." "There is not the remotest probability of His Majesty's Government's sanction to such a measure." "Kafirland, a country just laid waste by fire and sword, their houses burnt, their magazines of corn destroyed, all the flocks and herds, down to the very milch goats, swept off by a Christian force." "The business of extermination is proceeding with the same spirit, and the number of cattle taken and Kafirs shot still do credit to the unsparing energy of the different officers entrusted with the execution of the Commander-in-Chief's forbearing and benevolent measures." "Kafirs are now killed chiefly during nights." "Humanity weeps over the destruction of a people whose original offence was propinquity to us." "The great body of Kafirs have never offended us." "A war of extermination, in which women and children are not spared." These extracts are made up from the leading articles of this paper to the 22nd August, 1834. On the 29th, it goes on to say, "we have appealed to our fellow-subjects in every country to which this paper is transmitted."† (No doubt, and to Lord Glenelg.) And

* The Rev. Mr. Young, in his evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines, 27th July, 1836, says, "It is also a fact that the Kafirs have increased much in cattle during the last ten years. I am quite satisfied of the truth of these remarks from my own observation, having resided in Kafirland six years, and have frequently heard the Kafirs make the remark themselves; and it is a singular fact that most of the leading men of several of the tribes always had their cattle places either in the neutral territory, or as near to the Colonial boundary as they could possibly get, considering them much safer there than in any part of their own country; hence it is clear, if they have lived in any dread from any quarter, it was not from the Colonists, but from the interior tribes."—*Vide* Report Select Committee on Aborigines, p. 661.

† Reference has already been made to the rise of differences between the editor of the *South African Advertiser* and the Frontier inhabitants, in 1830, who then jeered the Settlers of Albany for their

so, consequently, with all this before him, and the ear-wiggling from other quarters, the Secretary of State penned his notorious despatch.

After such representations, which, contradicted at the time by the Frontier presses and one at Cape Town, never heeded, it can be no matter of wonder that the Home authorities and the public were deceived; and this may account for the despatch dictated by the peculiar bias of its author. But the delusion still continued to be maintained by the industry, worthy a better cause, of the Cape Town Mission party and its tools on the extreme border, who, in order to deepen the impression, employed the astute device of exhibiting before the humane but too credulous masses of the British people, a living specimen of "oppressed friends and brothers."

To effect this, a Kafir named Jan Tzatzoe,* represented complaints against the Hottentots and Kafirs, for their thefts and other crimes; and the feeling became the more embittered when he described these people as "pin-makers, Cockneys, women's tailors, wearers of breeches who are afraid to look a natural man in the face;" adding afterwards the scorching remark, never forgotten by the Albany farmers—" 'Until misfortune gies them a Jag,' to use the figure of douce Davie Deans, 'and lets the wind out o' them, like a cow bursten wi' clover,' we must be prepared to hear many an unsavoury report." The "*Jag*" came in 1834. The effect of these misrepresentations was such, that on an appeal made to England for relief of the sufferers by the invasion, Mr. Borradaile, the Chairman of the Cape of Good Hope Trade Society, in a letter dated 26th Nov., 1835, said, "that the Committee, with every inclination on its part, thought an appeal to the public, under existing circumstances, would prove a failure."

* After the war of 1835, Tzatzoe was taken by Dr. Philip, Agent of the London Missionary Society, to England, "where he was passed off as an important Chief, and encouraged to make statements regarding grievances and oppressions towards his tribe and nation, which grievances did not exist."—*Vide Compendium of Kafir Laws, Customs, &c.*, compiled by direction of Col. Maclean, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, from information supplied by Rev. H. Dugmore, Mr. Warner, Mr. Brownlee, &c., published 1858. Of Jan Tzatzoe's abduction by the Missionaries, or as the writer calls them, "clerical showmen," an amusing account will be found in Lieut.-Col. Napier's *Excursions in Southern Africa*, vol. i., p. 328.

as a powerful Chief (really with only 197 men), and a Hottentot named Andreas Stoffels, of Kat River, were clandestinely spirited away from the Frontier, and with two teachers from that locality, named Reed, were examined before a Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in July, 1835, for the purpose of "considering what measures ought to be adopted with regard to the native inhabitants of countries where British Settlements are made." This Committee was composed of honourable and religious men, taking a deep interest in the welfare and just treatment of the coloured races. Among them were Mr. (afterwards Sir) Fowell Buxton, Messrs. Hawes, C. Lushington, Pease, Barnes, Sir G. Grey, Colonel Thompson, &c. Before this august body, the Kafir and Hottentot, tricked out for the nonce in all the finery of broad cloth and gold lace, gave evidence the most blasting to the Colony, in which they were supported by their leaders.

The Secretary for the Colonies, Lord Glenelg—a nobleman of unimpeachable honesty, but with extreme sensitiveness to anything like oppression, and belonging to that amiable party known as the "Clapham Sect"—unfortunately listened to unscrupulous statements, "brought," as he admits, "under his inspection by the voluntary zeal of various individuals, who from many different motives interest themselves in the discussion;" and although acknowledging "the disadvantage of reposing his judgment on materials of this nature," says, "he cannot give the proof of the facts upon which he comes to a conclusion, because it would involve the necessity of discussing the credibility of the witnesses, and might violate confidence."

To neutralize the policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, sent back to the Colony the late Commissioner-General of the Border, Captain Stockenstrom, who from some inexplicable, or perhaps explicable, causes had suddenly fallen into the extreme views of that statesman, and he was accordingly appointed Lieutenant-Governor. This gentleman arrived

on the 1st of August, when he had an interview with the Governor at Cape Town, who made known to him every particular regarding his newly-introduced system, and Capt. Stockenstrom departed for the Frontier, leaving an impression on His Excellency's mind, and those who were made acquainted with the nature of the meeting, that the Glenelg experiment would not at once be carried out to its full ruinous extent. On the 2nd of September, Capt. Stockenstrom visited Uitenhage, where he received some of the Dutch farmers, who contemplated expatriation as a dire necessity, should reversal take place; but, apprehensive there might be some legal obstacles to their leaving, they opened a communication with him, when he assured them there existed no such impediment, and this announcement, with the tone of his reply, gave a fresh spur to the meditated movement.

The news of Captain Stockenstrom's appointment had already created great anxiety and misgivings in the District of Albany, the most exposed to the barbarians. It had come to the knowledge of the inhabitants, through friends at home, who, on their part, had "watched proceedings" in the Committee on Aborigines and elsewhere, that he had given evidence against themselves and the Colonists generally. They therefore, previous to his arrival, petitioned that before he entered upon the duties of his office, the appointment should be suspended until a full and rigid inquiry be instituted on the spot upon the subject of the charges made by him,* and which they had before demanded, on hearing from England that deliberate misstatements had there been made by other parties.

Upon his arrival in Graham's Town, on the 3rd September, the copy of an address, signed by 412 of the inhabitants,

* *Vide* Capt. Stockenstrom's evidence before Aborigines Committee, 21st August, 1835, No. 1092-3-4, to which may be added his opinion of the "Frontier farmers, who have gone into Kafirland pretending to have lost cattle, and taken cattle from Kafirs: lose cattle intentionally; make fraudulent representations of their losses. Military force of no use but to those parties who wish to plunder the Kafirs of their cattle."

was sent to him, requesting to know when he would receive it. This paper referred, *inter alia*, to the evidence reported to have been given by him before the Committee, particularly that "they" (the Settlers) "had often, very often, served on commandos,"* a species of military-civil force used against Kafir depredators, and which it had been falsely alleged had caused the late irruption; and they boldly, but in respectful terms, asked him "whether

* COMMANDOS.—What is a commando? Lord Stanley, in a despatch, dated 13th November, 1833, says they have been represented to him "as a system of military execution inflicted upon the natives, sometimes to prevent or to punish their hostile incursions into the territory wrested from them by the European Settlers, but more frequently as a means of gratifying the cupidity or vengeance of the Dutch or English farmers; and, further, as being marked by the most atrocious disregard of human life."

"It affords temptations to bad Colonists to enrich themselves." "The property of the Kafirs is placed in the power of any avaricious and unprincipled white man in their neighbourhood." "Some of the men who have complained most loudly of the depredations of the Kafirs upon their property, and who have been most frequently engaged in commandos to recover stolen cattle, are said to be men who have risen most rapidly from comparative poverty to wealth." (Rev. Dr. Philip, 13th March, 1834.—*Ibid* Appendix, p. 687, to Evidence before Aborigines Committee, 15th June, 1836.)

In a letter in my possession, from Colonel Somerset, dated the 3rd June, 1836, he enumerates all the commandos which took place from 1820 to 1835:—1. December, 1823, one to Maconno's kraal, to recover 900 cattle taken from the farmers of Baviaan's River, Macomo having threatened, to revenge any attempt to retake them, he would murder women and children; 2. November, 1825, on Noacha's and Seko's kraals, which case was brought to the notice of the Commissioners of Inquiry, who justified the measure; 3. In 1828, to protect Hintza and others from the Fetcani or Mantatees; and 4. One in 1830, to recover stolen horses and cattle, which was undertaken under the inspection of the Commissioner-General, Captain Stockenstrom.—J. C. C.

How unfounded were the charges generally made against the Government and Colonists of disregarding the interests of the Kafirs, may be seen in the record of a case brought before the Court of Circuit, where Tyali, a Chief, the son of Gaika, accused a Dutch farmer, named Nel, of retaining unjustly some cattle. This was in 1834, the year before the invasion. It was tried, at the express desire of the Government, by a British Judge. Tyali was non-suited; but, nevertheless, the costs were defrayed by the Colonial Exchequer.

their conduct had justified that inroad, and whether they had ever acted unworthy the British name and character." This address, in a letter of the same date, but only received on the 4th, he declined to receive; when on the 6th, the largest public meeting ever assembled in Graham's Town met, and it was "Resolved, that the rejection of the address was at variance with the spirit of the British Constitution, and degrading to a community of free and loyal British subjects; that the meeting unequivocally denies the fact, as stated by Capt. Stockenstrom before the Aborigines Committee of the House of Commons, that the British Settlers* of Albany have been 'often, or very often,' on commandos, or in any way participated in those 'atrocities' he has described as being of frequent occurrence; and that they await the inquiry they have applied for."† And thus, by refusal of explanation, a lamentable quarrel between the Lieutenant-Governor and the Borderers, English and Dutch, was established, ceasing only upon that gentleman's removal from office in 1839.

Early in October, the Lieutenant-Governor commenced the work of demolition of the D'Urban System by directions to Colonel Somerset; and on the 5th December completed his destructive task by restoring to the barbarian invaders not only the country forfeited in a just war, but even surrendering the territory between the Great Fish and Kieskamma Rivers ceded by Gaika to the Colony in 1819, thus bringing the ever-predatory enemy into the dangerous lurking places of that immense jungle,‡ with only the narrow stream between them and

* The Settlers were expressly exempted from serving on commandos.

† Another matter of lesser import, but what had the semblance of gratuitous insult, was the device adopted for his official seal, brought out by the Lieutenant-Governor. It represents a poor, industrious Settler, peaceably busied with his plough, tilling the ground. This is made the background. In front is a Kafir, in war costume and crane feather, with an assegai struck against the British escutcheon, "pride in his step, defiance in his eye."

‡ Major Charters, Military Secretary to Sir G. Napier, thus describes this boundary:—"The line of frontier is all in favour of the

the desolated Albany District; in fact, not more than twenty miles from the principal town of the Frontier, Graham's Town. He entered, besides, into treaties* with the faithless Kafir Chiefs; absolved their people from their late sworn allegiance, without having, as he was bound to do, "first framed and prepared these treaties, giving due notice to all parties concerned;" that is, to the Governor in Council, as directed by the Secretary of State's instructions of the 26th December, 1835, and 5th February, 1836. Previous to this reckless act, Colonel Smith, in a despatch (20th October, 1836) to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, giving an account of his administration of the Province of Adelaide, states that during its continuance there had only been seventy-three acts of depredation; that the greater part of the cattle stolen had been recovered; the thieves punished; that robberies had commenced immediately the rumours of the reversal became public;" and predicting, with fatal foresight, the ruinous consequence of that measure; adding, "*but if the system established by His Excellency Sir B. D'Urban be pursued towards them—strenuously, decidedly, and uncompromisingly pursued—these barbarians, or their posterity, will have just cause to bless the day they were received as British subjects.*"†

Kafirs; a dense jungle, the medium breadth of which is about five miles, torn and intersected by deep ravines, a great part impenetrable except to Kafirs and wild beasts, occupies about one hundred miles of frontier, following the sinuosities of the Great Fish River. THE WHOLE BRITISH ARMY WOULD BE INSUFFICIENT TO GUARD IT."

* "These treaties, based on the principle that the Colonists had been the aggressors, were thus far objectionable; but there were difficulties in many other points, and especially as they placed the property of the Colonists beyond the pale of legal protection; interposing restrictions in the pursuit of cattle, or restitution when found in Kafirland; and by making certain thefts *irrecoverable*, legalized robbery."—*Vide Boyce's Notes on South African Affairs.*

† The D'Urban policy lasted for fifteen months, during which period Kafir depredations almost entirely ceased; the cruel punishment for the reputed crime of witchcraft and other heathen superstitions were abrogated; the purchase of wives—the fertile cause of robbery from the colonists—forbidden; the Kafir people were relieved from the gross

Under the influence of the Anti-Colonial party, another affront was perpetrated upon the sensibilities of the inhabitants. Lord Glenelg now (3rd February) ordered a Court of Inquiry to investigate and report upon the matter of the "Death of Hintza," which had covertly been represented to the Colonial Secretary, by a mischievous Colonist, as a gratuitous cruelty, inasmuch as it was alleged that that Chief had supplicated for mercy before he was shot; and the *Quarterly Review* of the period, itself misled, had designated the act as a "HORRID MURDER." Before this tribunal, held at Fort Willshire in the months of August and September, Colonel Smith, the Commandant of the Province of Adelaide, was actually tried, when all the several accusations were disproved, and, of course, that gallant officer most honourably acquitted. The act attempted to be tortured into one of unnecessary cruelty was completely justified; the investigation, however, leaving an indelible stain upon all its promoters. Lord Glenelg—to his credit it must be recorded—subsequently admitted "that Hintza had been engaged in a secret conspiracy with the authors of the war, and was availing himself of such advantages as it offered him, and on himself, therefore, rests the responsibility for the calamity in which he and his people were involved."

This discreditable investigation was not, however, sufficient to assuage the clamour of the British philanthropists, so dishonestly evoked. On the 13th of August, in one of the thinnest Houses of the Session, the Commons passed "An Act," which became law, "for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by His Majesty's subjects within certain Territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope;" which additional insult was intended for a slur upon the Colonists, and was called, *par excellence*, "THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PUNISHMENT BILL."

oppression of the native Chiefs; and both Colonists and Kafirs were happy and contented with the present peace, and its prospects for the future.

It was not, however, without early and fair warning from the Governor, still the paramount authority, that the Lieutenant-Governor acted in the precipitate manner he did. He was cautioned that he was doing so on his own responsibility, but this had no effect; and having now committed the Colony to the Glenelg "experiment" beyond redemption, Sir B. D'Urban had no alternative, but to reluctantly acquiesce, as he said, "for fear of fresh complications and the renewal of hostilities." On the 2nd February, therefore, he renounced the allegiance of the Kafirs and the retention of the "Province of Queen Adelaide;" and, being recommended by the Executive Council, after long deliberation with himself, ratified the dangerous treaties of the 5th December. In doing this, the Governor placed upon the Record of the Council copious observations on those engagements, which he transmitted to the Secretary of State in his despatch of the 24th June. In these he stated he could not acknowledge the soundness of the principles on which they were grounded; did not approve of their provisions, as comprehending those securities he regarded as indispensable, viz., the safety and protection of the Missionaries, traders, the Fingoes, the tribe of Amagonaquabi, which had been faithful, and the integrity of the Border; and that he anticipated no beneficial results from their operation."*

In concluding the narrative of this eventful year, it must not be forgotten to record the enactment of a most important Ordinance (No. 9), for creating Municipalities, another step towards the more perfect Anglicisation of the Cape of Good Hope.

1837.—On the 1st of May, Lord Glenelg, in reply to Sir Benjamin's despatch of the 2nd June, 1836, informs

* In a MS. copy kept by this good man (the original of which I was favoured with the perusal) who had the interests of the Colony so much at heart, and narrowly watched them while he remained in the Colony, I find notes as to the progressive working of the new system, from 1837 to August, 1842, showing how depredations had increased, how aggravated the sense of insecurity had become, how the migration of the Dutch farmers increased, and how the Fingoes were sacrificed—in fine, how completely his predictions had been fulfilled.—J. C. C.

him of the incompatibility of their continuing to work together—in fact, dismissed the veteran soldier of Waterloo and a hundred fights—and adds this fearful sentence, *emphatically*:—"You announce to me the abandonment of the Province of Adelaide, and cast on me the responsibility of all the consequent disasters you predict. I confess my anticipations to be different from those which you have formed. I AM PERFECTLY READY TO TAKE UPON MYSELF THE SOLE AND EXCLUSIVE RESPONSIBILITY ON THIS OCCASION." A terrible guarantee, when the horrible loss of life and property during the continuance of the experiment, and its natural results, the subsequent wars of 1846 and 1850, are taken into account!

The meeting of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Dutch farmers at Uitenhage, in 1836, has already been alluded to. He now unfortunately got involved in a quarrelsome and undignified discussion with one of his Dutch Field-cornets, the unfortunate Pieter Retief,* whose offence was, that he had officially forwarded an address from the inhabitants of the Winterberg District, in which allusions were made to the slanderous attacks upon the Colonial character and the dangerous state of the Border. This address he refused to receive, and threatened the Field-cornet with dismissal, who replied, that if protection is not afforded to stop the ruin of the country, the abandonment of that part of the Colony will be the consequence; and as no heed was taken of this warning, this influential officer and good citizen, with a number of his countrymen, migrated beyond the northern boundary, leaving behind him a "manifesto," containing a statement of the reasons forcing them from the land of their birth, namely, "Unrestrained vagrancy; pecuniary losses sustained by the slave emancipation; wholesale plunder by Kafirs and Hottentots, desolating and ruining the Frontier divisions; and the unjustifiable odium cast upon the inhabitants

* Subsequently murdered at Natal, with his party of seventy farmers and thirty attendants, by the Zulu Chief Dingaan, on the 6th Feb., 1837.—*Vide Chase's Natal*, a reprint, Part 2nd, page 2, and *Rev. Mr. Gardiner's Narrative*.

by interested persons, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in their favour." The mania for emigration, now that it had procured a recognized and influential leader, swelled into a torrent. Retief was followed by a large body of wealthy and intelligent farmers, and in the end no less than six thousand—many in the vale of years—expatriated themselves, of whose condition an interesting account by a disinterested witness may be found in Captain Harris's *Narrative of an Expedition into South Africa in 1835-7*.

The friends of the Lieutenant-Governor now trumpeted the Glenelg System as "a great success," gravely assured the world that "we had seen the last of our Kafir wars," and that "the Colonial Frontier is perfectly quiet." Notwithstanding this empty boast, robbery was rife; the Fingoes—to whom the Lieutenant-Governor had taken a rooted dislike, some of whom he had removed, and intended to do so with the remainder, from the fertile border to the Zitzikamma Forest lands, one of the poorest parts within the Colony*—were, in August of this year, attacked, near Fort Peddie, by Seyolo, a turbulent Kafir Chief of the T'Slambie clan, who plundered them of 500 head of cattle, and in presence of an agent of the Government stabbed a Fingo Chief, slaughtered ten of his people, and murdered a British non-commissioned officer. This public outrage had been preceded by several instances of ill-usage, the blame of which was attempted to be shifted on the sufferers; but after the small reparation of seventy-four cattle had been wheedled out of the real aggressors, the matter was quietly hushed up, to bolster "the great experiment."†

Another instance of the operation of the new system was the case of Mr. Robert Hart, of Glen Avon, Somerset,

* Governor Sir G. Napier, in his speech to Council, 10th December, 1838, says they were reduced to considerable distress in consequence of the unfitness of the country for the grazing of cattle during parts of the year.

† See *Boyce's Notes on South African Affairs*, from 1834 to 1838, page 99.

a personal friend of the Lieutenant-Governor, and one of the largest farmers on the Frontier. This gentleman had been plundered of more than 200 head of fine Bastard Fatherland cattle. These were traced to the River Kei, among the Kafirs of the Chief Tyali, who, as some twenty or thirty had been seen there, were returned; but no fine was levied, or any assistance given for the recovery of the remainder, although Mr. Hart undertook to point out in certain Kafir kraals the identical stolen stock; and on an appeal home, he was informed in a despatch (7th March, 1839), "it was not in the power of Government to grant him any redress."*

The Tambookies, too, formerly a quiet Kafir tribe, emboldened by such and similar acts of laxity, and the rewards bestowed upon the late invaders, now traversed the Colony in armed bodies, unchecked; and neither the lives, the property of the Colonists, nor the sacredness of its soil, was respected by the barbarian or protected by the Frontier Government, whose object was to cry "Peace, peace, when there was no peace."

These events were not looked upon with apathy by the inhabitants of the Border. In October, 1837, the Albanians, in an address to the Queen on her accession, took the opportunity to bring to her notice the evils accruing from the subversion of the benevolent measures of the D'Urban policy; the fearful increase of emigration, in consequence of the insecurity of life and property; and soliciting for mere justice, and a "rigid inquiry" into their grievances. But of what avail could these appeals be, opposed as they were by the assailants of the Colonial character then in England, and assisted by a few within the Colony; who, parading their *protégés*—or, as they were called, Christian trophies—Tzatzoe and Stoffels, at Exeter Hall, at numerous chapels in all parts of Britain, at public meetings held at Manchester, Birmingham,

* Some of these cattle were seen in the kraals of two of Tyali's Councillors, but they were refused to be given up to Mr. Hart's son, who was threatened with violence. It seems they had been "*honestly stolen*," according to the Glenelg Treaties.

Sheffield, Liverpool, and other large manufacturing towns, prompted them to utter charges of dire oppression and grievous wrongs suffered by them at the hands of the Colonists—not forgetting, however, to expatiate before their audiences at the last-named places upon the intimate connection between the propagation of Christianity and the market for calicoes. The impression thus likely to be made, and how it was made, on the kind hearts and sympathies of British philanthropists, may be fancied from reference to many of the local periodicals of the day, especially from the *Christian Advocate* of the 31st October : —“ Not only has the Hottentot (Stoffels) ; and his companion, the Kafir Chief (Jan Tzatzoe), been fêted by the most respectable Dissenters, but, to use the words of the Kafir, ‘ In the Palace the King’s grand-children have taken me by the hand—me, who am a black man—and they not only shook hands with me, but they gave me money, and said, that is for your infant schools.’ ” Such industrious obtrusion could, of course, only tend to deaden all commiseration of Englishmen for the sufferings of their traduced countrymen in South Africa.

SECTION VII.

Administration of Governor Sir George Thomas Napier, K.C.B.

FROM JANUARY 22, 1838, TO DECEMBER 19, 1843.

1838—Arrival of Governor—He decides to uphold the Glenelg System—Mutiny in Cape Corps—Officer murdered—Kafir Conspiracy—Working of the Glenelg System—Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom leaves Colony—His valedictory address to Natives—Trial, Stockenstrom *versus* Campbell—British Settlers' Petition laid before Imperial Parliament—Inquiry refused—Prince of Orange at the Cape—Addresses to Sir B. D'Urban on his retirement—Final Abolition of Slavery at the Cape. 1839—Commando System revived—Lord Glenelg resigns—Lieutenant-Governor Stockenstrom removed—Education. 1840—Colonel Hare, Lieutenant-Governor, remonstrances against the Treaties—Governor Napier visits the Border—Changes his opinion about the Treaties—Meets Kafirs—Exonerates Colonists from blame—Condemns the Kafirs—Treaties amended—Throws the blame of the War of 1834-5 on the Kafirs, as it was caused by their stealing—First Bridge built in the Eastern Province.

1838.—January hailed the advent of a new Governor for the Cape in the person of Sir George Napier, and it was hoped almost against hope he might bring with him some relief and relaxation of the new system now becoming insufferable. The Frontier public was soon undeceived. In reply to an address presented to him from the people of Port Elizabeth on the 3rd April, couched in respectful but decided language as to the state of the country, he thus made known his opinions:—"Now, gentlemen, I as decidedly tell you that I accepted the Government of this Colony in the conviction that the former system as regarded our Kafir neighbours was erroneous, and I came out here agreeing in and determined to support the system of policy pursued by the Lieutenant-Governor of these districts, in accordance with the instructions which His Honour and myself have received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State. To that opinion and in that determination I still adhere." At Graham's Town he expressed similar sentiments, adding he "believed the system had

worked most admirably, and that it requires no alteration." "I have determined to support His Honour's measures with all my power."*

Previous to His Excellency's arrival on the Frontier, an event had taken place sufficient to shake his sense of security. On the 19th of February a body of the Cape Corps, instigated by the Kafir Chiefs Kreli, Umkye, Umhala, and others, had concerted a regular plot for an extensive invasion of the Colony, in which they promised to assist; but the Cape Corps conspirators being thwarted in their object through some *contretemps*, a body of them went to a place called Frazer's Camp, deliberately shot their own officer, Ensign Crowe, of the Cape Mounted Rifles, while in company with three others, mistaking him for another one present whom they had decided to destroy. The principals in this brutal murder were apprehended, tried, condemned, confessing their guilt and complicity in the Kafir conspiracy; and on the 14th April, two of them were executed in the presence of the Governor, who admitted the mutiny had extended much farther than he could have supposed, and that the mutineers had urged no grievances, and, on the contrary, had been well-treated.

After this, His Excellency held a meeting with the Kafirs, when the Lieutenant-Governor declared, to the astonishment of the Colonists, "the new treaties had not been broken on either side," but, at the same time, most strangely added that "the Kafirs had greatly committed themselves by attacking the Fingoes." How the last facts, the continued depredations, and the late projected invasion, bore out His Honour's statement regarding no infraction of treaty, was, at the least, questionable. Two other awkward circumstances occurred during the year, indicative of the futility of the Glenelg policy—the gross ill-treatment by the Chief Macomo of one W.

* Eighteen months after this, the Governor, as will hereafter be seen, entirely altered his opinion, *vide* his reply to another address from Port Elizabeth in October, 1839.

Carpenter, and the murder of a trader, Charles Bezant, and the plunder of his shop, which did not afford much promise of stability to the be-praised "experiment." The Governor himself, too, did not appear to be quite so well satisfied with the Kafir Chiefs; for at the interview he told them if they did not abstain from their thefts, he would drive them over the Bashee.

At the commencement of this year Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom, through the influence of bad advisers, thought fit to institute an action against the Civil Commissioner of Albany, Captain Campbell, whom he very injudiciously taxed with "conspiracy against his life and honour." In this he was most signally defeated at a trial held before a full Bench of Judges at Cape Town on the 28th February, which greatly disturbed the prestige of his reign, and some months after he left the scene of his misrule on a visit to England. In taking leave of the Kafirs and Hottentots on the Border he thus memorably replied on the 1st September to an address from his pet Settlement, the Kat River:—"I may here repeat what I said to the Kafir Chiefs at parting—If ever now after the system established and the selection of the men to administer it you prove restless and turbulent, your friends in England will have every reason to decide *that you were in the wrong throughout*. This may be my last legacy."* These valedictory words are especially valuable, connected as they are with the wars of 1846 and 1850 and the rebellion of these very people in the latter year.

The repeated complaints to the Home Government from the Border Colonists, neglected as they had been, now found their way into the Imperial Parliament. On the 10th July Mr. Gladstone called the attention of the Commons to a petition from Albany, and he brought the whole subject before the House—the breach of faith on the part of Government, the late sacrifice of Colonial territory to the enemy, the robberies and losses sustained in a late

* Referring to the returns during His Honour's administration, we find cattle, 4,244—horses, 868, stolen; murders committed, 24.

fatal collision, the abandonment of the Frontier by the Dutch farmers, the perilous and unsafe position of the Eastern borders—and then he moved for a Commission of Inquiry into the past and present state of our relations with the Kafir tribes. Sir G. C. Grey opposed this simple request for giving credit to the slanders against the Colonists so industriously circulated by the agents of the London Missionary Society and their allies. He considered himself “justified in asserting there had been a series of continual aggressions by the British Settlers on the Kafirs, which were disgraceful to the British name; that the application came from persons who had placed themselves in trouble and peril by means of their aggressions;” and these cruelly unjust and utterly untrue denunciations being uncontradicted, the sufferers having no representative in Parliament, were acquiesced in. Their prayer for investigation into their allegations was refused by a majority of nine votes out of seventy-three members then present.*

On the 10th December, the Governor having reassembled the Legislative Council at Cape Town, in an elaborate speech set forth his impressions as to the state of the country which he had so lately visited, smoothing down most of the awkward portions regarding the working of the system he had come out sworn to administer, but not without evident misgivings and some suppressions of his real sentiments, which within a very short period he felt bound to confess.

An event of deep interest, especially to the Dutch Colonists of the Colony, occurred early in this year (May)—the visit of the Prince of Orange to Cape Town, where he was naturally received by all classes of the community with great respect and rejoicing; and every honour was paid to so illustrious a guest, befitting his high station and his relation to a dependency so lately an appanage to his country's Crown.

Another circumstance must not remain unrecorded, and

* *Vide the Times and Morning Herald, newspapers of the period.*

that is the presentation of addresses to the late Governor, the beloved Sir Benjamin D'Urban, upon his retirement from office. It is impossible to give these tokens of affection and gratitude *in extenso*, but they may be compressed within shorter limits. The event is declared as one decidedly inimical to the well-being of the Colony, but in accordance with the many adverse results consequent on a new system, which is not founded in truth;* unfeigned sorrow at being deprived of the humane, kind paternal protection, during the late disastrous and unprovoked war; regret that his measures have not been allowed to ripen into maturity, as they would eventually have promoted the civilization of the savages and the peace of the Frontier; for his exertions to counteract the glaringly false impressions of character attempted, from the worst motives, to be attached to the Colonists.† “Deploring the event as a public misfortune, we feel you have an especial claim on our fervent esteem and gratitude, as the defender of our hearths against a barbarous and restless enemy; as the steady asserter of our claims to the consideration of the British Government; and the foe of calumniators.”‡ That Sir B. D'Urban has not been treated with that justice his active exertions for the best interests of the Colony, and the civilization of the Kafir tribes, entitle him, and that had his treaties of the 17th September, 1835, been maintained, the happiest results would have followed.§ Similar sentiments were also expressed in an address from the leading members of society at Cape Town, members of Council, merchants, the Bench, the Bar, and in short from the whole metropolis, accompanied by a more solid description of gratitude—the presentation of several pieces of plate, “as a testimonial of their respect for his person, and of the high sense they entertain of his merits and services during his administration as Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.”

Such were the unsought tributes of affection to an officer the Colony was never destined to see again—a fallen

* From Uitenhage, † Graaff-Reinet, ‡ Albany, § Port Elizabeth.

Governor, no longer the disposer of place and patronage ; a man victimized to support a philanthropic Eidolon.

The last matter worthy notice, and closing this eventful year, was the final extinction of slavery at the Cape, which took place on the 1st of December. The abolition was proclaimed in 1834, from which period the slaves were indentured for four years, thus exchanging the eternally-odious name for that of apprentice. No greater credit has ever been assumed by the philanthropists for England than for this act of humanity, but no greater injury was ever inflicted upon the inhabitants of the Cape than by the manner in which it was effected. It is true that the munificent sum of twenty millions sterling was granted for a measure noble in itself and worthy all praise, but with it was a pledge that a just and equitable amount would be awarded to each proprietor. A fair and correct appraisement was made of the 35,745 slaves, for which £3,000,000 ought to have been forthcoming; but the average valuation of £85 per head was reduced in England to £33 12s.; so that, instead of receiving £3,000,000, the Colony got only £1,200,000. To add to the injustice of the act, the money, instead of being receivable in the Colony, through the Colonial Government, was made payable in London, by which a farther reduction was imposed by the necessity of employing agents. Many families were ruined by these deductions. Several sold their claims in the Colony at a discount of 25 to 30 per cent., and some rejected the paltry sum awarded to them altogether. Time, it is hoped, has blunted the sense of this manifest wrong, which, with the insane native policy introduced to supersede that of Governor D'Urban, drove its victims to migrate beyond the Trans-Gariep and to Natal.

1839.—This year opened with no brighter prospects than the preceding ones since 1836. Already had disputes arisen between the Chief Eno and the Amagonaquabie tribe, when Pato, our ally during the recent war, was threatened by the Gaikas. Kafirs waylaid travellers within the Colony; an officer of the 75th Regiment, Captain McLean, was attempted to be assassinated at the Kat

River; while robberies continued incessant. Macomo, with a large body of armed followers, traversed the British territory, and afterwards endeavoured to excite the other Chiefs to attack the Colony. The reviled Commando System was obliged to be revived, contrary to the express condition of an article in the treaties, and war was directed against the Tambookies over the Zwart Kei, without first declaration—a people who, unlike the Kafirs, had never hitherto been troublesome, or accused the whites with acts of oppression, but now, finding the other tribes could assail the Colonists with impunity, and were even justified for their misdeeds, began a regular system of plunder. On this occasion they were punished by the capture of some 500 cattle and one man shot; but strong doubts were afterwards entertained whether the raid for which they suffered had not been committed by the people of Tyali and Macomo, who had crossed their territory to fix the guilt upon their neighbours and thus elude detection. To sum up the depredations the Borderers suffered from the Kafirs, which the returns distinguished under the heads of Reclaimable and Unreclaimable (*i. e.*, legitimized theft), there were 320 separate cases, in which were carried off 540 horses and 1,285 cattle—with four attempts at murder, and one consummated. How far these outrages were justifiable will appear from the statement made by the Governor in Council, that “there had been only one act of aggression by a Colonist, and that of no importance.”

By the 8th of February, the real author of these disasters no longer directed the affairs of the British Colonies. Lord Glenelg resigned that day, it was said through political intrigue; and on the 31st August following, Captain Stockenstrom, his *protegé*, then in Europe, received a communication from the Marquis of Normanby, it was stated, on the representation of his friend and patron, Sir George Napier, saying, “I have felt it my duty to submit to the Queen that it is not expedient that you should resume the government of the Eastern Districts of that Colony. I consider that retirement to have been rendered inevitable by the feelings of distrust and alien-

ation towards you, which, as I learn from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, have unhappily taken such deep root in the minds of a large proportion of the Colonists as to deprive your services in that quarter of the value which otherwise would belong to them ; and as even to convert exertions, in themselves most meritorious, into sources of discontent and disaffection to the Government." The terms of this dismissal appear somewhat novel ; for although Governors have no doubt been removed for other reasons, it is somewhat singular that unpopularity should be publicly avowed as the cause of removal, and perhaps not always politically prudent to state it as a reason.

The fall of this gentleman, although merited, was to be regretted ; as his natural talent, self-improved by study and intercourse with Europeans, whose company he greatly cultivated, his intimacy with Colonial affairs, especially those of the borders, his general kindness of disposition, his hospitality, and the possession of many other amiable qualities, would have rendered him of great service to his co-Colonists, had he not identified himself, in an evil hour of no common temptation, with their detractors. Ambitious, proud, and unyielding, assailed, it must be confessed, too, by a bait, glittering—irresistible, he took the seals of office with conditions he should have spurned ; and afterwards, under bad advisers and questionable friends, he disdained to conciliate when he might have done so. The reward was a brief, uneasy, and tempestuous administration, a barren baronetcy, and a life pension he was unfortunately not destined long to enjoy. Never in this Colony has fallen a man who could have achieved more good for his native land than himself ; but unhappily he missed his way. *Requiescat in pace.*

Unluckily for the tranquillity of the Border, the baneful system survived the ruin of its authors ; but its evils became so intolerable* that, as we shall see, important

* In August, the Secretary of the absent Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Hudson, in reply to some gentlemen who waited upon him to represent the condition of the country, admitted that " it is not to be concealed

alterations were obliged to be made in its most vexatious provisions.

The other matters coming under notice this year may be shortly named: the appointment of a Superintendent-General of Education, in the person of Dr. Innes—most unwisely burdened with duties it was impossible to fulfil, considering the vast extent of the Colony, for the physical energies of a single individual, with justice to himself and the system; another, the commencement of a landing-jetty at Port Elizabeth by the inhabitants themselves; the creation of a Municipal Board for Cape Town and its vicinage; and the introduction of a new system of police.

1840.—The chief interest of the Colonial Annals continue to be almost entirely absorbed by the Eastern Province, and that principally confined to the great question of “our Native Relations.” Col. Hare, C.B., second in command, succeeded the late Lieut.-Governor, and to a system which was most difficult to manage, and he not exactly fitted for the arduous task. He met the Kafir Chiefs at Fort Beaufort at the close of the preceding year, and was treated by them with unresented insolence and audacity. The result had, as might have been predicted, no effect on the thievish disposition of the barbarians, and cases of murder and assault still held their way unrepressed. Remonstrances continued to be poured into the ear of authority against these outrages, and especially that part of the mischievous treaties which requires that stolen cattle shall be traced to the boundary before compensation could be legally demanded, which in the majority of cases was found impossible when the robbers took advantage of rainy weather for their visits, and in dry, burning the grass so as to obliterate the spoor or trace. At last these inroads became so frequent and

that Kafir robberies are greatly on the increase; they were more extended and more audacious than before. The new system was only an experiment, and it had not answered. Captain Stockenström might soon be expected, most likely with instructions to remedy this state of affairs.”

harassing that the Governor was obliged once more to visit the scene of their occurrence, and leave the luxuries of Government-house behind for a tedious journey, much discomfort, and useless palaver.

On his road to the Frontier, and while he was at Uitenhage, His Excellency was addressed by the inhabitants of Port Elizabeth, who, it will be remembered, on a former occasion had been repulsed in a discourteous manner—in fact snubbed, because they denounced the existing treaties as replete with evil and ruining their portion of the Colony. Undeterred by the rebuff then received, they again, on the 26th September, ventured to approach the Governor on the same subject and almost in the very words they had before employed, when, to the perfect astonishment of the deputation,* not only was their reception most bland and reassuring, but elicited from His Excellency the frank confession that “some of the provisions of the treaties regarding stolen cattle found and identified in Kafirland should be considered irreclaimable, are calculated to shock our natural sense of justice and to be unsupported by any consideration of sound policy ;” and thus was struck the first blow at that hydra-headed monster, the disgraceful Glenelg System.†

* On the former occasion (3rd April, 1838) some of His Excellency's aristocratic suite, of course aware of his then proclivities, sneered at the deputation and their employers as “tinkers and dealers in soap.”

† To the honour of Sir George Napier, who came to the Colony (like many other Governors) with strong feelings against the people he was called upon to rule over, it is but fair also to state that after his return to England he honestly admitted he had changed his opinions both as regarded the inhabitants and the policy he had been selected to assist in subverting. Judge Cloete, in his “Five Lectures on the Emigration of the Dutch Farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope,” at page 70, quoting the ex-Governor in his examination before the House of Commons, gives his words as follows:—“I went out, if I had any prejudice at all, with a prejudice against the Colonists and against that former occupation of the ground (British Kaffraria) by Sir B. D'Urban and Sir H. Smith, and thinking it would be better not to have them. My own experience, and what I saw with my own eyes, have confirmed me that I was wrong, and that Sir Benjamin D'Urban was perfectly right.”

His Excellency then proceeded to the Frontier, and in December held a grand palaver with the Kafir Chiefs at the Chumi, where, with some 4,000 of the sable race, were the principal heads of their nation, Sandilli, Tyali, Macomo, Eno, Botman, and others. Here the Governor repeatedly reminded them that since they had put their hands to the treaties they were aware that the Colonists had committed no acts of aggression upon the Kafirs, but that they had not been fulfilled on their part, and that before proceeding farther he must have a pledge that all arrear claims for cattle lifted should be forthcoming. This immediate settlement was disingenuously evaded, although its justice was vociferously admitted by the multitude. The Governor then remarked on the heinous nature of the crime of murder, of which so many had been perpetrated within the Colony by Kafir marauders. He complained that the perpetrators had been permitted to escape, and no means taken by the Chiefs to bring them to condign punishment. On this Sandilli *promised* they should all be punished, and then His Excellency required them to agree to several alterations in the treaties, the principal being that the farmers who should be robbed might freely pass into Kafirland, unarmed and with only a small party, and if they traced their property, should lay the case before the Diplomatic Agent; and when the loss was proved, it should be made good, together with reasonable damages for time and trouble. The clause requiring the Colonists to keep their herdsmen "armed" was rescinded, as it only offered a double incentive to plunderers for weapons besides cattle; and in case of murder, the Chiefs should bind themselves to apprehend the culprits, bring them before the Resident Agent, there to be tried and suffer according to Kafir law. The Kafirs on this great occasion were very amiable, being well feasted at Colonial cost—talked much and eloquently, ate much and voraciously, assented to all the blame bestowed upon them without a blush, readily signed the amended treaties, of course swearing by their ancestors' ghosts—flimsy, unsubstantial as the pledge—to keep them faithfully and

to maintain peace for ever—with what fidelity performed the sequel will unfold.

The Governor then met the Gonaquabie clan and the Fingo tribes; told the former he had come to make changes in the treaties, “as they did not give justice to the Colonists;” told them, what was the truth, “that the Colony had not a charge of any kind to make against them; there had never been a single complaint; they had been perfectly honourable and honest. To the Fingoes he addressed words of similar import, and said he wished the rest of their kinsmen back from the Zitzikamma, to which the late Lieutenant-Governor had removed them, as well as those in the Kat River, so as to be as near as possible to the Border, “to make you a great nation.” The following day, the Governor met the T’Slambie sept, who promised compensation for the arrear claims for thefts with equal sincerity as the Gaikas had done, and he told them the real truth—not after the Glenelg gospel—“You know that stealing cattle from the Colony was the cause of the last war” (1834-5). Umkye admitted the fact, and farther observed that no robberies or murders could be traced to the Colonists, but on the contrary to themselves. They then began to blame each other for their misdeeds against the Colony in no complimentary strain, and then signed the altered treaties—the first attempt to “tinker” the Glenelg System—as a matter of course; and the Governor, his suite, and some few of the Colonists, believed the delusion that the savages were in earnest. The hatchet of war had been buried and the calumet of peace *smoked*—and so, very significantly, another scene in the grand Kafir drama closed.

A calamity of a serious nature, affecting the whole Colony, took place this year—the loss of the first steamer plying between Table and Algoa Bays. The *Hope*, chiefly belonging to the Colonists as shareholders, left the first-named port on the 9th of March, with a full cargo and many passengers, and on the night of the 11th, in a dense fog, struck on the iron-bound coast of the Zitzikamma, and soon became a total wreck. All the lives, seventy-two

in number, were miraculously saved, almost without a bruise, the shipwrecked crew contriving, thanks to the skill and bravery of the officers, to land on a raft ; and as the place of disaster was in the neighbourhood of farm-houses, the sufferers were speedily relieved. Science claims notice this year also. The Astronomer-Royal, Mr. (now Sir Thomas) Maclear, commenced the measurement of an Arc of the Meridian, near Cape Town, a labour of the greatest value, which has been perfected and proved most accurate by the late Trigonometrical Survey under Captain Bailey ; and the Engineer Department commenced the bridge over the Kat River, at Fort Beaufort, and one over the Great Fish River, at Fort Brown, the first structures of the kind made in the Eastern Province, but not at the cost of the Colony.

SECTION VIII.

1841.—The Governor again exonerates the Colonists—Immigration for the Colony—Agitation for an Elective Legislature—Eastern Province hostile to its seat in Cape Town—Lull in Kafir Depredations—Its Causes—They recommence Murder and other Outrages—Borderers again appeal Home. 1842—Violent Coast Storms—Lighthouse at Cape Recife—Lord Auckland—Sutu, Widow of Gaika, charged with Witchcraft—Narrowly escapes being burnt alive—Kafir legal practice on that Charge—Lieutenant-Governor meets Kafirs—Accuses them of faithlessness—Judge Menzies proclaims British Sovereignty beyond Orange River—Lieutenant-Governor proceeds to Colesberg, leaving the Frontier in charge of Macomo—Perfidy of that Chief.

1841.—So satisfied was His Excellency the Governor with the results of his late visit to the East, that on his homeward journey to the metropolis, at George, a town about midway, in reply to an address there, he said:—"I have great pleasure in stating my hopes that the treaties as amended will now work in such a manner as to check the daring depredations which were so ruinous to the peaceful and industrious farmers, and of which, after four years' experience, they had just cause of complaint; more particularly as I must ever firmly declare that no one act of oppression or injustice has been committed by a Colonist against the Kafirs since the treaties were made—a fact to the truth of which the Chiefs gave their united testimony."*

The effect upon the labour market by the enfranchisement of the slaves and the liberation of the Hottentot population by the enactment of the 50th Ordinance, had for a considerable time past been severely felt by the Colonists, and began to press so heavily that public attention was forcibly called to the subject and for some remedy. Meetings had been held in the preceding year in several parts of the country, and appeals from both its Provinces

* Sir G. Napier gave similar testimony before the Aborigines Committee (23rd June, 1851):—"Many of the Articles of the Treaties were most unjust to the Colonists." "Those treaties were never once infringed by the Colonists, but by the Kafirs over and over again."

were transmitted by the Governor to the Secretary of State, but which His Excellency declined to support. These representations were, however, now repeated, and memorials forwarded to the Governor; and further praying that the "Crown Lands" might be made available for immigration. These suggestions were received more favourably, especially those emanating from the East, on the ground stated by him to the Home Government, "that he considered the East suffered infinitely more for the want of labour through the idleness and caprice of the natives than the Western Districts—a state of things incident on the nature of the country and the scattered population; the means of procuring a dishonest livelihood being easily obtained, and the risk of punishment comparatively small." To these applications, however, an unfavourable reply was received from the Secretary of State (26th July), but he assented to one part of the memorialists' prayer—viz., the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to consider the best means of promoting the internal improvement of the Colony.

Another subject, and one of deep interest to the Colonists in general, now began to be re-agitated, that of the establishment of an Elective Legislature, the Governor being at this time only assisted by his Executive Council and a Legislative Council composed of five official members and five unofficials,* the latter all nominees of the Governor. A very large and influential meeting was held in Cape Town, in the month of August, to discuss the subject—hastened probably by an observation of the Governor in the Legislative Council, to the effect that members might just as well hold their tongues as complain of profusion in the expenditure of public money, such matters being settled at home, where their voices were not heard. At this meeting resolutions were passed in favour of an early concession of the privilege of self-government, and petitions transmitted home from the inhabitants generally, in which they were also joined by

* Two merchants, two agriculturists, and one barrister.

the members of the Cape Town Municipality. The Eastern Province naturally followed so eminent an example, and on the 30th of October a public meeting was held in Graham's Town on four of the most important subjects of the day, viz. :—

1. The necessity of promoting emigration from the Parent Country to the Colony.
2. The want of a Legislative Assembly elected by the people.
3. The working of the existing Frontier System ; and
4. The existing relations of Natal with the Colony.

These matters were taken up *seriatim*, and the requisite representations made through the regular channel to the powers at home ; but it must be here noted that thus early doubts were publicly expressed, “ that a Representative Assembly meeting at Cape Town would be but of comparatively small advantage to the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts. The most important portion of the Colony, whether viewed agriculturally or politically, would be virtually unrepresented, or at least would not be represented by those who, from local knowledge or immediate personal interest, would enjoy the public confidence, or who could efficiently discharge the duties which such an appointment would necessarily require of them.” These misgivings have been sadly realized ; and the Eastern Province, for the whole period the Colony has enjoyed (?) the privilege of self-government, now fifteen years, has seriously suffered in all its best interests by the selection of Cape Town as the permanent Seat of Legislature.

Again forced to recur to the endless question of Border affairs, it is to be recorded that, excepting a few instances of native cupidity, the Frontier enjoyed a temporary lull ; and this abnormal state of tranquillity was generally attributed to the circumstance that a body of British troops had been dispatched overland through the Kaffrarian territory to the river St. John's or Umzimvooboo, to protect the Colonial ally, Faku, the Chief of the Amaponda tribe, against whom an attack was supposed to have been made by the Dutch Boers settled at Natal,

but which, in fact, was one upon a notorious freebooter, N'Capai, their own, and equally the enemy of the natives.

In April, however, the usual depredations recommenced, at first principally confined to horses, and then it soon extended to other descriptions of stock; and so daring the plunderings of the Kafirs and other natives became, that on the 21st of June a public meeting was convened in Graham's Town, calling upon Government seriously to consider the subject of Kafir robberies, unrestrained vagrancy, and the still unredressed wrongs which had driven the Dutch farmers across the Border; and resolutions to the effect were forwarded both to the Lieutenant-Governor, the Governor, and the Secretary of State. Hardly had this been done when an atrocious murder of an inoffensive man named Rudman, residing on the banks of the Great Fish River, to which the Glenelg System had brought back the bloodthirsty savages, took place during a night attack, in which other parties residing there had to sustain an onslaught for full an hour and a half, and were only saved from destruction by the opportune arrival of a party from the adjacent military post at Fort Brown.

Shortly after this, the Lieutenant-Governor had a meeting with the Gaika Chiefs on the subject and that of an assault upon a farmer (Potgieter) who had been badly wounded, when Tyali and Macomo promised compensation and to search for the perpetrators, but denied complicity in the murder; and so, after a brief period, the matter got hushed up.

Goaded by these persistent encroachments and spoliations by the natives, who, emboldened by impunity, had—besides the acts just narrated—been guilty of driving certain occupants from their farms by force, plundering wagons on the broad highways by armed parties, assaulting military officers close to the Eastern metropolis, and numerous other turbulences, the inhabitants of Albany once more pleaded for the interference of the Home Government, representing “that while the Kafirs are rapidly increasing their means of aggression, the Border inhabitants are being daily, from continual robberies, less

able to resist them, and unless a more vigorous policy be adopted—one which shall restrain the natives from the commission of robbery and violence, now of so frequent occurrence—the consequence will be a continually increasing expenditure for the protection of the Frontier and the prostration of all hopes for this fine Province." After this significant premonishment the Government had no possible excuse for its apathy on the score of want of warning; but all warning from the inhabitants of this distant part of the Colony was attributed at head-quarters to interested "alarmists," "desirous of fomenting war."

1842.—It is a relief, after the recital of these ever-recurring incidents of trouble, to refer to those of a different complexion; but even these are not of an agreeable character. In or near both the principal ports of the Colony lamentable wrecks took place. From July to September violent storms raged in Table Bay. The *Arion*, *Galatea*, *Speedy*, the convict-ship *Waterloo*, the *Abercrombie Robertson*, a troop vessel, were wrecked, and 194 lives were lost. Five other vessels also went ashore. In Algoa Bay, or rather on the reefs of Cape Receiffe, on the 7th August, a large and splendid Spanish vessel, the *Sabina*, from Manilla, richly laden with a cargo worth £90,000, was entirely lost. Her passengers and crew consisted of sixty-four persons, of whom perished Don Francisco Monson, his lady, Don Gregorio Balbas, seven soldiers, and ten of the crew—in all twenty souls. The appearance of the bodies as they laid on the bright sands on the following quiet morning (Sunday)—strange contrast with that of the awful night preceding—was most affecting. Don Francisco and his lady, both in the decline of life, of commanding stature and noble features, reposed near each other, and close by them their nephew—a very fine lad. Beautiful in death on their

" First dark day of nothingness,
The last of danger and distress."

The bodies were collected and buried on the Hill at Port Elizabeth with the rites of the Roman Church and all the respect and honour the inhabitants had in their power

to bestow—all the unfortunate sufferers were capable of receiving.

Immediately after the occurrence of this disastrous event the merchants and others opened a correspondence with the Cape Town Government upon the urgent necessity of a lighthouse at this dangerous spot, where, no doubt, many other vessels had met a similar fate in bygone times, and promptly received the assurance that plans and estimates had been transmitted to the Secretary of State on the 19th July previous, but that no instructions had yet arrived for its construction. The building—the site of which had been selected by Sir B. D'Urban in 1836—was, however, completed, and in April, 1851, first lighted with an apparatus of a very costly description; and now the coast of South Africa—always so terrible and sometimes so fatal to “those who go down into the sea in ships”—is almost as efficiently lighted as any European sea-margin.

Another event this year, but rather of local interest, was the visit of the ex-Governor-General of India, Lord Auckland, and his sister, the Honourable Miss Eden, to Port Elizabeth, in the month of June, when his Lordship was pleased to take charge of a petition from the inhabitants relative to the state of the country in general, the prayer of which he promised to support.

“*Nous revenons a nous moutons*”—our predatory sable friends not having despoiled us of all those innocent creatures, although they exhibited a strong affection for hoofs and horns. Well, no change for the better showed itself on the doomed Frontier. Robbery was vigilantly kept up; armed parties of natives traversed the Colonial soil at pleasure. Kama, our ally, the Christian Chief of the Gonaquabies, was threatened with violence by the other Kafirs, and the restless Macomo made another attempt to settle down on one of the tabooed branches of the Kat River.

In May, Tyali, one of the sons of the late Chief Gaika, died, and as the demise of so important a personage could only be attributed to witchcraft, a wizard doctor was sent

for to "smell out" the culprit, who selected for his choice victim no less than Sutu, "the faithful friend of our Government," and the great wife, now widow, of Gaika, and mother of the present Chief, Sandilli. It is said her wealth in cattle, and perhaps some spite, provoked the charge. The opinions of these people on the nature of this crime and its appropriate punishment, will be seen by the following account, given by the Rev. Mr. Boyce, a Wesleyan Missionary, who lived in that capacity among these amiable barbarians:—

"The Kafirs," he, in a speech made in England, said, "were a warlike people; every man was a soldier; and they regarded war as a pleasing excitement. There was, he feared, little chance of the universal establishment of peace in that country until the people were led to embrace the truths of the Christian religion. They were a very superstitious people, and believed in the existence of spirits, some of whom exerted a malign and others a propitious influence; but they had no notion of a God. There was but one theory of medicine in Kafirland; all disorders were supposed to arise from the patients being bewitched. The Kafir doctor was a singular being; he dressed in the most frightful manner, and conducted himself in public like a madman. When he was called in to a patient, he assembled the people together, and taking his assagai he pointed to an individual and said, 'That's the witch.' And what follows? Although the individual may be one of the most respectable and powerful men in the country, he at that moment ceases to have a single friend—the crowd rush upon him; his ornaments are snatched from his ears; his parents and children will join in beating him; he is considered an outcast. Preparations are then made for the purpose of making him confess. He is fastened on the ground with leathern thongs, a fire is made close to his body to roast him alive, and a certain stinging insect is placed on the most tender parts of his body, inflicting thereon the most excruciating torments. He is sometimes tormented in this manner for two or three days, until he

is compelled to say 'I did bewitch' so and so. He confesses in order to save his life. If he has a few friends he may escape, but he is an outcast—a ruined man; he loses his wife, his children, and his property, and can never show his face in society again. Such is the abominable system of witchcraft which prevails among these people."

We shall soon see something more of this interesting amusement in an instance actually carried out to completion, described by an eye-witness, and admitted as true by a British functionary. Sutu was imprisoned, tried, as a matter of course, convicted, and then sentenced to be burnt alive in the legal and most approved manner; but she entered into bail—*vulgo*, leg bail—by running away to the residence of the missionary at the Chumi Station, where she remained—preferring a steak at his table to that provided by her people—until the Lieutenant-Governor interfered in her behalf;* otherwise doubtless she would have become a sacrifice to the prevailing superstition of the "noble savage."

Shortly after this episode, in the month of August, Colonel Hare, the Lieutenant-Governor, held his quarterly meeting with the Kafirs, in order to hear all cases of claims made against them. At these "courts" he and the Chiefs sit *ostensibly* to adjudicate the respective cases between the natives and Colonists, and award remuneration; but they, with their well-known adroitness, always managed to palaver His Honour into the belief that they and their people were the honestest of men, to evade, if they could, or avoid restitution, and if not, procrastinate with all the appearance of heartfelt anxiety to assist in the recovery of stolen property. On the occasion of this periodical assembly, however, "His Honour expostulated with the Chiefs at considerable length, and in very forcible terms dwelt on the baseness and faithlessness of their conduct in suffering their people to plunder the Colony in the way

* In 1834 Sutu had been actively instrumental in saving the life of a trader, at the risk of her own, at the Glasgow Mission Station in Kafirland.

they had been doing—and which had been carried to such a length, and conducted with such audacity, that even those who had ever shown a disposition to befriend them were compelled to give up their case as hopeless, and to admit that they were without excuse—that he held in his hand an account of 2,180 head of cattle and 240 horses which had been stolen from the Colony since his visit there in April last, and that these cases were undeniable, as he had not brought forward a single instance in which he had not full proof of their guilt.”

In the following October, the first Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, on Circuit, the Honourable Mr. Menzies, being at Colesberg, on the northern boundary of the Colony, and hearing of the intention of the expatriated Dutch farmers to erect a mark or beacon of sovereignty over the lands across the Orange River, at once proceeded to the spot, and there, at an interview with them, remonstrated against the act, they being still British subjects, and amenable to the celebrated Act called “the Cape Punishment Bill.” He then proclaimed, in his own name, all territory between the 22° of E. longitude and 25° of S. latitude to be the property of Her Majesty the Queen of England. This bold but commendable act was disallowed by the Governor, Sir G. Napier, who repudiated it by a Proclamation dated the following 3rd November, thus mystifying the unfortunate emigrants, who were left at a perfect loss to know where they were or what they were—Colonists and subjects or Foreigners and free. They had left the Colony in consequence of misrule, settled at Natal, which was taken possession of by British force, and now they found themselves in this their asylum, where they could protect themselves against native aggression, still pursued by what they most dreaded; take what steps they would, a terribly exacting but not apparently just Nemesis pursued them, and the complications consequent on the great migration continue to the present day, seeming never to have a chance of disentanglement. Under the apprehension of serious difficulties arising out of these events, and the attitude assumed by the Boers, the Lieutenant-

Governor proceeded with a body of troops, one thousand in number, to the north, in order to intimidate them ; but previous to departure, in all the simplicity of innocence or vast profundity of political wisdom, His Honour, after an interview with Macomo "the faithful," engaged that Chief to pledge himself to protect the harassed line of eastern boundary during his absence ; and this mark of confidence was perfidiously repaid by that Chief's engaging at the very time in an extensive conspiracy with the others, including Kreli, to invade the Colony, a rumour having been circulated in Kafirland that disasters had happened to the expedition on its route to Colesberg.

SECTION IX.

1843—Colonial Secretary, Colonel Bell, retires—Succeeded by John Montagu, Esq.—Public Works—Cape Sands—Roads—Mountain Passes—Cradoek's Kloof—Exploration in Interior—Storms at Paarl, &c.—Port Elizabeth Jetty destroyed—Immigration from England—Border Affairs—Sandilli assisted by Government against the Chief Tola—Sandilli's conduct and character drawn by Governor Napier—Murders—Representations transmitted to England—Official and other Returns of Native Depredations—A Kafir Execution for Witchcraft—A Second case of the same kind, &c.

THE Governor of the Cape Colony is always a bird of passage, and not always selected for his peculiar aptitude for the situation to which he is appointed. He generally accepts office with the crudest of notions—often with some favourite crotchet of his own; crams, before leaving England, for information out of works on the Colony, many of them obsolete; reads up in ponderous Blue-books containing correspondence of his predecessors, and then, furnished with “instructions” from Home, where the best information, political, geographical, &c., does not exist in perfection, arrives in Cape Town, dons the purple, issues a proclamation on the assumption of the new dignity, and lingers in that seductive metropolis until some thunderclap of disaster on the Border calls him to the front. Such has been the usual rôle for more than forty years. As soon as he has, by personal experience, mastered the difficulties of his position, or differs in opinion with his employers at the Colonial Office at home, or they get weary and impatient because certain objects are not soon enough attained, he is relieved by another gentleman as uninformed as he was on his arrival, and the new comer has to go through the same process—to conclude in the same fashion. It does occasionally, it must be admitted, occur that if the Pro-consul has effected, or is required to effect, some grand Imperial *coup*, his time may be extended; but this done, a new man comes out for the stipulated period of five or six years, which he

seldom fills up, for the average of the gubernatorial reigns from 1820 to 1862 is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. Poor Colony!

The Secretary to the Government, although usually, like his chief, in the first instance a stranger to the country and its inhabitants, has a more lengthened duration of office, and, in consequence, experience. If he be a man of ability, of some rank or family, independent in mind and unembarrassed in circumstances, he can shape for good the proceedings of his superior, arrest hasty impulses, and correct prejudices imported from beyond South Africa. The Colony had in this respect been very fortunate for a considerable series of years, and now on the retirement of Colonel Bell, more familiarly known as "Honest John Bell," he was succeeded by a gentleman of decided ability, Mr. John Montagu, to whom the Colony is indebted for some of its greatest public works. He conceived and carried out to successful completion the plantation of those interminable sands near the metropolis, known previously as the "Cape Flats"—a weary wilderness of, probably, an ancient sea-bed, obstructing traffic and intercommunication, over which he established a hard road. This attempt, like all other improvements, was at first derided by the would-be-wise as a folly, sneered at by the Dutch Doer as an impossibility; indeed, to employ the old well-known distich—

"Had you seen these roads before they were made
You'd have held up your hand and blessed"—

No, Montagu won't rhyme as did "General Wade," but there they are—an imperishable monument of their projector's indomitable persistency. He then procured the institution of a Public Road Board, and subsequently (in 1844) the employment of the convict gangs, whose labours previously had been frittered away in making paltry repairs in widely-spread localities, and by massing them on the construction of great works, utilized a description of labour which has been found to be of the greatest value. Among these works is that at the Cradock Kloof, in the district of George—one of the most difficult mountain passes in the Colony, severing the Eastern from

the Western Districts. Few people, except those who knew it previously, and travelling the present road, could believe such to have been practicable. The defile, encumbered with huge rocks, was a perfect charnel house of draught-ox bones, broken wagon wheels, yokes, and spokes, terrible to behold and fearful to recognize. The idea of making it passable was speculated upon for many years, applications incessantly made to the Home Government were transmitted, asking its sanction, for then nothing could be done by the Colony itself without permission; but these were disregarded until Colonel Mitchell, the Surveyor-General, went to England, explained the advantage and necessity of the work, exhibiting at the same time a picture of the pass drawn and engraved by his own hand, showing a wagon toiling up its rough ascent, and the "Bone House" described, when the consent of the office was at last extorted, and the genius of Montagu commenced and completed the work which very properly bears his name. Besides this gigantic undertaking he initiated several others which have since been finished.

Some trifling additions were made at this time to our store of geographical knowledge. Messrs. Bain, Pringle, and Capt. Steele crossed the Great or Orange River, and, passing the Kuruman or New Lettakoo station, reached the 24th degree of South Latitude, collecting much interesting information regarding the long-talked-of "Great Lake N'Gami," but which was left to Dr. Livingstone in after years to discover.

During the month of August, storms, of such a nature as it was said had not been known for above twenty years before, ravaged the entire coast of the Colony. Table Bay, Plettenberg's Bay, the Knysna, and even the inland town of the Paarl, about forty miles from Cape Town, experienced the fury of the tempest. At Algoa Bay, where the inhabitants were constructing a landing jetty at their own cost, with some trifling Government aid, on the night of the 28th four vessels came on shore. Two of them broke through the middle of the pier, rendering

the remainder useless. Eleven lives were lost, as well as property to the value of £30,000.*

In the course of the year several immigrants arrived from Britain, chiefly relatives or connections of those who had settled in the Eastern Province in 1820, attracted by the success which, despite of wars, floods, and failures of crops, had attended their efforts, and who by this time, notwithstanding these drawbacks, had established a commerce which within 22 years reached the amount of a full third† of that of the Western end of the Colony, destined, but hardly then expected, to eclipse it altogether.

Native affairs on the Eastern Border took their usual course—that is, from bad to worse. In May a quarrel occurred between the T'Slambie Chief Umhala and Gazela, who, for his adherence to the British Government, was threatened with destruction. Umhala assembled a force of 1,000 men, refused to see the Lieut.-Governor, and it was only the presence and forbearance of the troops that prevented hostilities. Shortly after this event, assistance was craved by Sandilli against a subordinate captain of his, named Tola, whom we expelled from the country between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers, which he had been permitted to occupy on promise of good behaviour, but from this convenient locality had been committing extensive depredations. In effecting his expulsion, not only did Sandilli fail to co-operate with the troops as promised, but it was well known connived at his own proscribed Chieftain's escape with much of his plunder, and then impudently denied he had asked for aid. He then soon pardoned the turbulent Chief, received him back into his favour, and replaced him upon the very spot whence at his request he had been ejected. This was, as usual, however, after some useless parley, overlooked, and Tola allowed to remain unmolested upon the other Chiefs

* It was said the site was wrongly chosen; but it is now understood that new works are recommended on the same position, but vessels to be moored more northerly.

† 1842—Western Province imports and exports, £771,466; Eastern Province, £252,524.

promising to be his security—a promise they never intended to fulfil. Sir George Napier's estimate of the character of Sandilli at this time was, that he was "a young man possessed of none of the qualities essential to render him a fit ruler for so large a tribe; is a tool in the hands of his counsellors; his conduct throughout the whole business has been very capricious and equivocal."

The situation of the Border at this period may be better understood by reference to the statements made by a deputation which waited upon Lieut.-Colonel Johnstone, 27th Regiment, the officer in command at Fort Beaufort, on the 31st May, consisting of Messrs. Bowker, Currie (now Sir Walter), and other gentlemen, as to the effect of the ruthless inroads of the Kafirs. "No man," said they, "can venture to move from his farm unarmed, no cattle be sent to graze but under double guards, no family can retire to rest but under set watches for the whole night; and yet, with all these precautions, constant and daring robberies take place, some of them accompanied with murder; and that, wasted and depressed by these continual anxieties and fatigues, they now found themselves unable to struggle longer with their misfortunes, and should be compelled to abandon their farms." It was these representations which produced the interference just mentioned; but still outrage succeeded outrage until the whole country was roused to indignation, as may be well supposed when the Civil Commissioner of Albany, Mr. H. Hudson, a gentleman rather disposed to favour the natives, admitted "the alarm to be so great as to cause the suspension of all farming pursuits."

The apologists and *soi-disant* friends of these coloured "Children of the Mist" said then, as they even now say, "What could you expect otherwise from an uncivilized race? You placed yourselves in their vicinity, and must take the consequences." To this there is but one reply—the Settlers did not place themselves there; they were planted on the spot by the hands of the Government, both of England and the Colony; they paid taxes, but failed to get protection.

At the close of the preceding year another cold-blooded murder had been perpetrated upon a young man, twenty-one years of age, Wm. Harden, while quietly employed near the mouth of the Great Fish River. At the commencement of the present, an inoffensive trader, named Duffy, was killed and plundered while travelling in the Amaponda country. On the 23rd July, two men, Palmer and Brown, in search of missing oxen, were waylaid, one speared, the other shot, both mutilated, near the village of Bathurst. On the 4th August, W. Glen, a shoemaker, was murdered near the Kagaberg; and on the 9th of the same month, a Tambookie cattle-herd of a Mr. Robinson met the same fate. These terrifying events, and the incessant acts of robbery, now of almost daily occurrence, and extending even into the Northern Divisions on the Border, irritated the panic-stricken Colonists, and meetings for remonstrance and petition ensued, complaining of unredressed thefts, frequent bloodshed, and a failing and altogether inefficient administration on the part of those charged with the Executive Government. Demands for greater protection and a return to the D'Urban System were transmitted to the Cape from Graham's Town, Fort Beaufort, Bathurst, Port Elizabeth, and other localities, accompanied by trustworthy returns, which representations were of course submitted to the Home Government, but with such a gloss as to make them appear greatly exaggerated. To complete the narrative of violences suffered in this terrible year, the circumstance of another murder must be added to the list—a murder which took place subsequent to the date of the abovenamed returns—that of a Hottentot herd of a farmer named Nel, in the month of November—the third servant Nel had lost in a similar way since the war of 1835, and the introduction of the Glenelg experiment.

The official returns of depredations committed by the natives upon the Colonists, professing to be accurate, were first published in March, 1838, two years after the System commenced; but these were known to be incomplete, as the Government of the day did all in its power to

suppress or soften down the real state of the Border relations, and the sufferers waxed weary of reporting outrages, as redress was unobtainable. Still the Government returns admit there had been within the four quarters of this year 259 cases of depredation, in which were lifted 209 horses and 1,932 head of cattle; and there had been reported six murders and thirteen assaults chiefly with intent to kill. Of Kafirs caught *in flagrante delictu*, seven were shot dead and two wounded;* and as to Kafir thieves apprehended and punished by their Chiefs the returns showed *nil*.

The character of the barbarians who had been, and still continued to be, painted as “unsophisticated children of nature,” amiable but ignorant—“noble” savages, yet cruelly oppressed, may be exemplified by two instances now occurring close to the immediate border of the Colony, within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of a British cantonment—Fort Beaufort. The D’Urban policy, under which the Kafirs had become British subjects, had expressly forbidden the punishment of all cases under the pretext of witchcraft. The Glenelg experiment, when it threw up the allegiance of these natives, allowed them “to *enjoy* the full and entire right to adopt and adhere to the Kafir laws or any other they may see fit to substitute.” (*Vide Treaty*, clause 6.) What they chose has already been shown in the case of the great Queen Sutu. How they *enjoyed* their own “unwritten” or common law, the reader shall be here informed.

In a local paper—the *Frontier Times* of the 31st August—published in Graham’s Town, and edited by a present member of the Colonial Parliament, Mr. Franklin, appeared a letter signed “A Reader,” giving a harrowing

* From the best record of the state of matters, which Lieut.-Governor Stockenstrom claimed as proving how well the Glenelg System had worked until, as he said, it had been tampered with, there appear 131 horses and 2,122 cattle stolen and 69 murders. A gentleman in England at this time, and about to emigrate to the Cape, seeing the returns of Kafir depredations, called at the Colonial Office, London, to ascertain their accuracy, when he received for reply from an under secretary, that it was out of his power either to contradict or confirm the returns, for he had no documents of the kind in his department.

account of the execution of a Kafir for witchcraft under Kafir law in the early part of that month. As soon as this tale of barbarity reached Cape Town, the Governor very readily and humanely called upon the Border authorities for explanation. Mr. C. L. Stretch, the Diplomatic Agent, it appears, had not thought it necessary at once to report the atrocious affair to the Lieutenant-Governor, only intending to mention it to that officer on the next quarterly meeting, but now being called upon, admitted the fact in his letter dated the 14th September; "I have the honour" (he says) "to state for the information of Government that a Kafir belonging to Macomo's tribe, named Quala, was put to death according to the account recorded in the newspaper." His Excellency on this took legal advice, and the Attorney-General gave it as his opinion, "We cannot interfere by the treaties, which only refer to Christian teachers." Here is the story as it appeared in the *Frontier Times*; the correspondence, &c., will be found in the Blue-book Return "Kafir Tribes," ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 23, 1851, p. 177:—

"Fort Beaufort, August 20, 1843.

"TO THE EDITOR: SIR,—In a late number of your paper you advert in a cursory manner to one of the greatest atrocities which it is possible for the dark depravity of man's heart to plan and its savage ferocity to execute. Many of your readers who are not acquainted with the extent to which the most refined tortures are carried in Kafirland may feel interested in the perusal of the following circumstantial account furnished by an eye-witness to the revolting and blood-chilling reality. It will not fail, I am sure, to awaken a feeling of Christian indignation at this awful result of deep moral degradation, as well as a sickening sympathy for the subject of the recital, with reference to whom some of the lookers-on exclaimed, 'No guilty man could ever die so bravely.'

"It appears that Macomo's son Kona was sick; the usual course was pursued in such cases, and a witch-doctor was consulted to ascertain the individual from whose evil influence he was suffering; and as is also usual under such circumstances, a man of property, and by reputation a courageous man, of Macomo's tribe, was selected and condemned to forfeit his life for his alleged crime—unheard, and without the slightest opportunity being afforded him of asserting, still less proving, his innocence; it was sufficient that the doctor had *said* he was guilty—he must die! Accordingly, to prevent his being made acquainted by

his friends of his awful situation, a party of men left Macomo's kraal early in the morning to secure the recovery of the sick young Chief by murdering one of his father's subjects. The day selected for the immolation appears to have been a sort of gala day with the unconscious victim; he was in his kraal, had just accomplished the slaughter of one of his cattle, and was merrily contemplating the convivial duties of the day before him, over which he was himself about to preside. The arrival, therefore, of a party of men from the 'great place' gave him no other concern than what part of the slaughtered animal he should give them—he looked upon them as his guests; but, alas! he was too soon undeceived. The party seized him in his kraal, whither he had gone, of course, unarmed. When he found he was secured, and felt the riem round his neck, he calmly said, 'It is my misfortune to be caught unarmed, or it should not be so.' He was then ordered to produce the matter with which he had bewitched his Chief's son. He replied, 'I have no bewitching matter that I know of, other than the body you have seized. I have been twice smelt out before; no bewitching matter has been found, and I am not conscious of having secreted any; my person alone can possess the evil influence, therefore destroy it—but do it quickly—if my Chief has already consented to my death.' His executioners expressed their determination to torture him until he produced it. He replied, 'Save yourselves the trouble, for torture me as you will, I can never produce what I do not possess.' He was then held to the ground, and several men now pierced his body all over with Kafir needles two or three inches deep. The victim bore this with extraordinary resolution; his tormentors tired—complaining of the pain it gave their hands, and of the needles or skewers bending. By this time a large fire was kindled, into which large square stones were placed to heat. The sufferer was then ordered to stand up; he complied. They pointed out to him the fire, telling him it was for his further torture, unless he produced the bewitching matter. He replied, 'I told you the truth when I said, save yourselves such trouble—it is my misfortune, not my crime. As regards the hot stones, I can bear them, for I am innocent; I feel no more apprehension than I should at sitting comfortably in my house (here he described a particular position Kafirs are fond of sitting in). I would beseech you to strangle me at once, but that you will say I shrink at what you are about to do to me. If, however, your object is merely that of extorting confession from me, save yourselves the trouble and kill me outright, for your hot stones do not scare me.' Here his wife, who had also been seized, was stripped perfectly naked, and most cruelly beaten and otherwise ill-treated. The victim was then led to the fire, where he was laid on his back, with his feet and arms tied to pegs driven into the ground for the purpose. The stones being by this time as hot as they could be made, were taken out of the fire and placed upon his groin, stomach, and chest; these were supported by others on each side of him, also heated, and pressed against his body. It is impossible to describe the awful effect of this process; I

must leave the scorching and broiling of the body, the fumes of smoke and occasionally flashes of flame arising therefrom, to the imagination of your readers. The very stones, as if refusing to be made further instruments of such cruelty, slip off the body in consequence of the unctuous matter they have drawn from it, and are kept on by being pressed down with sticks by the fiendish executioners. With all this the sufferer still remained sensible. He was asked whether he wished to be released to discover his hidden charm. He replied, 'Release me.' They did so, fully expecting they had vanquished his resolution. To the amazement of all he stood up, but what a sight!—a human being broiled alive, his flesh hanging in large pieces from his body like the seared hide of an ox! He composedly asked his tormentors, 'What do you wish me to do now?' They repeated their original demand; he resolutely adhered to his declaration of innocence, and begged of them, now that they appeared tired of their labour, to shorten it and put him out of his misery. The noose of the riem round his neck, which had been hitherto secured from slipping by a knot, was released, and while the heroic sufferer was still standing, it was violently jerked by several men until he fell, when he was dragged about the ground until they were satiated; and finally, placing their feet on the back of his neck, they drew the noose so tight as to complete the strangulation; then, as if not yet satisfied so brave a man had ceased to be, he was taken into his own house, tied to one of the supporting poles of it, the house set on fire, and the body burnt to ashes! Thus died a man whose extraordinary fortitude and endurance deserved a better fate. His sufferings commenced about ten a.m. and terminated with his existence a little before sunset.

"Who, unmoved, can read this tragic tale? Is it merciful; is it Christian-like—nay, is it sound policy to sanction the independent existence of communities governed by laws which admit of such dark practices? On the contrary, will not part of the guilt of this very man's blood lie at our own door?—I am, &c.,

"A READER."

That this was not an unprecedented or solitary act which took place under the Glenelg "Humane Policy" will be seen by the following:—

"ANOTHER CASE OF TORTURE AND MURDER, ON A CHARGE OF WITCHCRAFT,
BY KAFIRS.

"The following came to hand yesterday, adding another page to the atrocious history of the neighbouring Kafirs, and also dyeing with another crimson stain our Frontier system. The Fingoes are British subjects—will the Government avenge the death of this man as such? We shall see:—

"30th October, 1843.

"The paragraph in your *Journal* of the 20th instant alluding to Sandilli having "eaten up" a Fingo (that is, seized all his cattle and

effects), and also to his having entered the Colony with a large party of his Kafirs, is in those particulars correct, but it does not give the *whole* truth. The number of Kafirs is stated at fifty, whereas there were three times that number. They did not all present themselves at Rensburg's kraal, but the flat at a short distance was covered with men, both on horse and foot.

“ ‘The Fingo said to have been “eaten up” was not only plundered of all his property, but they cruelly tortured him on a charge of witchcraft. The wretched victim was seized and hamstringed; he was then bound to a tree, where his fiend-like tormentors mangled and stabbed him in the muscular parts of his body, putting to him at intervals sundry questions concerning his cattle and those belonging to his children. Finally, when satiated with this work of savage violence and blood, they dispatched him.

“ ‘My information is derived from some of the family of the deceased, confirmed by a Kafir who resides near the spot where the murder was committed. The latter states that the deceased had sold lately two of his daughters for cattle, and that he had given information to some of the Colonial farmers where they might find some of their “irreclaimable” cattle in Kafirland. His possession of cattle and the information thus given were the real causes for which he was put to death.’ ”

The chronology of 1843 furnishes little more of interest beyond that of an attempt to run a Royal mail-coach by a speculative gentleman, a Colonel Dixon, first between Cape Town and Swellendam, subsequently extended to Graham's Town. Both projects proved failures, and involved the subscribers in heavy losses.

Guano on the Island of Ichaboe, along with Roastbeef and Plumpudding Islands, part of the funnily-named dependencies of the Crown, was discovered at the time, and afforded a mine of wealth to the adventurous finders.

SECTION X.

Administration of Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B.

FROM DECEMBER 19, 1843, TO JANUARY 27, 1847.

1844—Governor sworn in—His Instructions—Lieut.-Governor procures restitution from the Kafirs—Legislative Council calls for Returns of Kafir Depredations—Opposed—Returns prepared—Results admitted as correct by Colonial Secretary—Murder of Nel—The Murderer sheltered by Kafir Chiefs—State of Border—Governor visits Frontier—Amends Treaties and subsidizes Chiefs—Metropolitan Improvements—Natal annexed to Cape Colony—Settlers' Jubilee—Tunnel made at Missionary Station of Hankey. 1845—Amended Treaties ratified—Depredations increase—Murder of a Missionary by Kafirs—Abolition of Office of Lieutenant-Governor proposed—The Borderers object—Ask for one with increased powers—Mr. Gladstone asks for more information on the Wants of Eastern Province.

1844.—Sir P. Maitland was sworn in at Cape Town, and assumed office on the 14th of March. The object of his appointment, as explained by himself,* was “to examine into the state of the Kafir relations, as the Frontier was at that time greatly unsettled on account of the number of robberies and several murders represented in very numerous petitions sent home, and that he was to investigate the real state of affairs and modify, if found necessary, the existing treaties;” but previous to his arrival Lieut.-Governor Hare had been obliged to resort to military interference against Macomo and Eno, who objected to satisfy the Colonists for debts justly due by treaty on account of cattle stolen, and it was only on the appearance of a troop of the 7th Dragoon Guards, with directions to seize stock sufficient to compensate the losers, that they gave way, and liquidated the claims they acknowledged but tried to evade.

On the 4th March, the Hon. Messrs. Ebdon and Breda, members of the Legislative Council, impelled by the reiterated complaints of the inhabitants, moved for—
“1st. Returns of the separate acts of depredations com-

* *Vide* his evidence before Aborigines Committee, July 7, 1851.

mitted in the Colony by the Kafirs during the years 1837 to 1843. 2nd. An abstract of losses, *reclaimable* and *irreclaimable*. 3rd. A return of all acts of aggression committed on either side. 4th. A return of particulars of every instance of breach of existing treaties, and of the number of lives lost either of Colonists or Kafirs; and 5th. Of assaults, murderers demanded and given up, according to treaties." The object of this motion was to obtain *official* information before the discussion of a petition from the inhabitants of the exposed and suffering districts then upon the Council table. The motion was negatived by a majority, upon the evasive grounds that honourable members should get up their own statistics, or make a substantive motion; that the Government clerks were too much employed to undertake the work; that it would cause unnecessary expense; and besides, the honourable members had the whole information before them in the *Government Gazettes*.

The compiler of these Annals had already prepared an analysis of the official returns, from 1838 to August, 1843, to accompany a petition to the Queen from Port Elizabeth, but as this could not be quoted as an authority, the members of Council wished to acquire a statement carrying with it greater weight. As soon, therefore, as the production of the papers asked for was denied, he determined at once to retrace his steps with more particular care and renewed diligence, so that the members might have data before them which it was not likely or reasonable they should incur the trouble of collecting themselves; and this he undertook as the Secretary of State had impugned the returns appended to the petition referred to. The publication of these fresh returns was made on the 6th July of this year,* under his notarial seal; and when

* *General Result of the operation of Lord Glenelg's and Lieutenant-Governor Stockenström's Policy.*

Stolen from 1837 to 1843 :—

Horses	2,469
Cattle	11,234
i.e., at the rate of 7 horses and 36 cattle each week.	

they were subsequently brought into discussion (in September, 1845) Mr. Montagu, the Colonial Secretary, endorsed them, saying on that occasion, "I have taken my information with regard to these six years from a statement drawn out and published by Mr. Chase, of Port Elizabeth, and which has evidently been compiled with a great deal of care and labour, and I have no reason to doubt its accuracy."

The new Governor had hardly been quietly seated in his office at Cape Town when he was startled with the report of the murder of a Dutch farmer, on the 1st July (one Nel), on the wooded banks of the Great Fish River. This unfortunate man was shot* while, with others, in pursuit of cattle stolen by Kafirs sent into the Colony at the instigation of one of Macomo's principal Councillors, in which four of his own sons and his brother were engaged (one was killed and three wounded by the pursuers, on whom they fired repeatedly). These thieves were concealed and protected by the Gaikas, refused to be surrendered, and afterwards permitted to escape. The Lieutenant-Governor at once instituted a searching

Murders committed.....	73
Cases of suspected murder.....	2
Assaults on persons, &c.: Colonists wounded, 28; do. fired upon, 21; other assaults, 33; total	82
Thieves punished by Kafir Chiefs	10
Kafirs killed or wounded <i>in flagrante</i>	34
Trespasses committed on Colony by Kafirs attempting to settle themselves within the boundary, &c.	18
Infraction of the treaties on the part of the Colony	3
Losses sustained by the Colonists, but where claims were disallowed for want of sufficient proof against the native tribes, viz.:—	
1841) { 38	{ 18
1842) Horses..... { 19	
1843) { 131	
	{ 239
	{ 146
188	718

JOHN CENTLIVRES CHASE.

Port Elizabeth, 6th July, 1844.

* Another farmer, named Grobblor, was shot about the same time by Kafir thieves, but at a different place.

inquiry, and in reporting the circumstance to His Excellency, observes that his investigation “unfolds a system among the Chiefs and their subjects, all united, to plunder, and to evade everything like justice;” and he complains bitterly of the duplicity of Macomo, who had actually received a fine of cattle from this very party of marauders—in fact, a share of the plunder, and then “with great tact and cunning” tried to throw the blame of protecting and concealing them on his brother Xo-xo. A military force was then marched into the territory by the Lieutenant-Governor, who said he was “wearied with the depredations and outrages committed on the Colony by the people of the Gaika tribes,” until the murderers were given up, which at length was effected, not without exciting at the time serious doubts whether the parties surrendered were the guilty, so little confidence could be reposed in these unprincipled people; and it turned out in the sequel they were entirely innocent of the crime.

How desperate matters were becoming will be understood by reference to a passage in a letter from the Agent-General for the Kafirs, addressed to the Resident Agent at the Chumie Station, dated 16th August, wherein His Honour gives it as his opinion “that the acts of aggression, outrage, and murders daily committed by the Kafirs on the Colony will at last bring upon the nation calamities which it will not be in the power of Government to avert;” and on the 27th following, he suggests to His Excellency the Governor that a *neutral* ground should again intervene between the plunderers and the plundered Colonists—that the latter should be restricted to the right bank of the Great Fish River and the Kafirs to the left of the Kieskamma; but even this half-and-half measure did not meet with encouragement, and no official person had the boldness to recommend a return to the mild and successful D’Urban policy until too late—for fear, as Lord Stanley had put it, “of an expensive and sanguinary contest.” It therefore became imperatively necessary that the Governor should proceed to the scene of so much disorder, and he repaired to Kafirland, where he met the various Chiefs

and a vast assembly of the natives on the 19th September, when he remonstrated with them on their conduct, dwelt on the failure of the existing policy, which he then and there annulled, entered into fresh treaties with their consent, and in order to induce the Chiefs to restrain their people, subsidized them to the annual amount of £680.* Having carefully inspected the territory, he fixed on a commanding spot between the Kat and Chumie Rivers for a new Military post, named, after Her Most Gracious Majesty, "Victoria;" and this important work concluded, trusting he had laid the foundation of future peace and security, Sir Peregrine returned to the *otium cum dignitate* of the Western metropolis.

Great were the rejoicings within the Colony on this then deemed auspicious consummation. Tar barrels burned, bonfires blazed, an *auto da fé* was celebrated, illuminations converted night into day, serenades were performed, pæans sung, and addresses by the score presented in honour of the quietus given to the "Glenelg Experiment," and the advent of an expected millennium, and the people were nearly crazed at the conquest at length supposed to be won.

"The other principal public measures of the year" (I quote from a leading article of the time) "have been an improved system of public finance, the adoption of a liberal system of immigration from the Parent Country, the entire abolition of port dues, and the employment of convicts on the public roads;" but to these must be added the singular metamorphosis in the capital, of a theatre, in which even the *chef-d'œuvres* of Shakespeare had been successfully enacted, into a chapel for blackedom—at which the "unco guid" and rigidly-righteous greatly rejoiced. Some equally extraordinary transformations have been witnessed in the city of Van Riebeeck since that time, as the Rev. Dr. Philip's Union Chapel in Church-square converted—no, desecrated!—into a billiard-room and a refectory for a Club; a building in Greenmarket-square,

* Faku, £75; Kreli, £75; T'Slambie, £200; Congo, £100; Fingoes, £100; Tambookies, £80; Eno, £50.

Gothic in its structure and Goth-like in its change, intended to have been consecrated to saints or apostles, turned into a shop for a vendor of punjums, and dedicated, some one said, not to the Prophets but Profits. Of course at Cape Town, as elsewhere, strange things are perpetrated, and among them, not far from the period now indicated, was the demolition of the venerable—certainly somewhat time-shaken—Dutch Reformed Church, and erecting upon its site an ugly edifice, more like a Mahomedan mosque than a Christian Basilica, still retaining, with peculiar taste, the hideous old belfry; but worse than all, they dug up the funeral slabs laid upon the graves of old South African worthies church-interred—whether the old relics murmured never transpired, it is to be hoped not, the wish inscribed on the tomb of the “Swan of Avon”^{*}—and among these was that of good, ancient Governor Ryk van Tulbagh. All the pride and pomp of heraldry with which the walls were, in the full sense of the term, decorated, were, Vandal-like, turned out—some splendid, perhaps rather gaudy, including the venerable achievements of Governor Van Oudtshoorn, with the flaunting banners, helmet, crest and shield; and the whole of these brave mementoes of a past generation were consigned to the garrets of the old spared Campanile, there to perish. The writer saw them there not long ago, a prey to rot, damp or dry, and to the tender mercies of time and the inexorable tooth of the proverbially “poor church mouse.”

On the 31st of March, Letters Patent from England were issued annexing Natal to the Cape of Good Hope, the history of which Settlement, from the discovery of the country by the great Vasco da Gama, has numerous historians, and it is beyond the province of this work to incorporate them here.[†]

^{*} “Blest may he be who spares these stones,
And curst be he that moves these bones.”

[†] The early history up to the year of occupation by England will be found in “*Chase's Natal Papers*, a Reprint.”

In the East, two events took place worthy of record. The completion of a tunnel, 750 feet in length, through the Vengsterberg, a hard rock at the London Missionary Society's Institution, Hankey, on the Gamtoos River, planned by the Rev. J. Philip, and carried out under his superintendence by Hottentot labourers. This great work was for the purpose of diverting the stream over certain rich grounds otherwise not irrigable, and has fully realized the objects of its conception. It is, however, lamentable to add that the projector and his nephew, a son of Mr. J. Fairbairn of the *Commercial Advertiser*, were shortly afterwards drowned in the river, an event causing general sympathy with the bereaved.

The other was the celebration by the British Settlers of 1820 of their advent into their twenty-fifth year of their sojourn in South Africa. This jubilee was held on the 10th April, in Graham's Town, Port Elizabeth, and several other parts, with great rejoicings. Morning services were held in the various places of worship, followed by discharges of cannon and musketry, and other tokens of gladness, and the day closed with the old English custom, at each place, of a banquet—"the feast of reason and the flow of soul"—to which were invited the local authorities and others, when appropriate orations were delivered, and music and song added to the pleasures of the festal occasion. A few months more—less than twelve—will bring the jubilee of fifty years; but, alas! who may live to see that day?

1845.—A temporary lull ensued on the alteration of the Border Treaties, and hopes were indulged for some continuance of quiet; but when, on the 3rd January, the Lieutenant-Governor had convened a meeting for the ratification of his new arrangements, it was observed that Sandilli, the head of the Gaika clan, failed to present himself, and there was evident hesitation exhibited on the part of the other Chiefs. However, on the 21st, another "palaver" being held, Sandilli and all the influential men attended, and after many objections the new treaty was signed, with the exception of a single article (the 18th). Shortly after

this several robberies and assaults occurred, causing considerable uneasiness, but still nothing to indicate any serious mischief until the close of April, when, in consequence of disturbances between the emigrant Boers and Griquas on the north of the Orange River (with the latter of whom the Colony had entered into a treaty of alliance), it became necessary to interfere, and to detach a large body of troops from the Kafir border, which became the signal for increased depredation. His Excellency the Governor then visited the Griqua and Bechuana territory, and in returning through the Eastern Districts in July, strong representations were laid before him of the disturbed state of the country by the increasing audacity of the marauders, nothing having saved the Frontier from a general outbreak but extreme forbearance on the part of the Military authorities. At this period several other signs of unmistakeable omen showed how ready and prepared the barbarians were to provoke hostility, and it was at length considered prudent to strengthen the posts and require the officer in command of the 7th Dragoon Guards to hasten his return from Colesberg, as there was every appearance of an approaching general inroad. The alarm increasing, meetings were held in several places, and one in particular at the residence of Field-cornet H. J. Lombaard, which is remarkable from the resolutions there passed being supported by persons who themselves were actual sufferers from the state of incessant disturbance, now become chronic. The representations made on this occasion embodied the universal feeling, and were to the effect that Her Majesty's subjects on the Border are not protected, although cheerful contributors to taxation; are continually despoiled of their property and in daily fear of another invasion; that none of the tribes with whom treaties have been made can be trusted; that the Government will find it difficult to oppose an inroad with the number of troops now on the Frontier; that the Kafirs are prepared for war by their increased means in horses stolen and guns acquired; that the want of confidence has induced a great number of their countrymen to

migrate to the wilderness, trusting to the protection of their own arms.

1st Resolution moved by Walter Currie, Esq.; house burnt, almost all his stock taken, furniture destroyed. Seconded by O. Nel, Esq.; house burnt, all his stock taken.

2nd Resolution moved by J. H. Delport; house burnt, stock taken, totally ruined. Seconded by J. H. Bosch; house burnt, stock taken, totally ruined.

3rd Resolution moved by J. D. Nel; house burnt, wife died from exposure to cold, property totally destroyed. Seconded by Gert Els; house burnt, property destroyed.

4th Resolution moved by Rynier Els; house burnt, stock taken. Seconded by C. Botha; house burnt, all property taken at Riebeek; he was wounded through the body, and his life despaired of.

5th Resolution moved by Elias Nel; house burnt, sheep taken, reduced to poverty. Seconded by Christian Nel; all his property destroyed.

6th Resolution moved by P. C. Bezuidenhout; lost upwards of 7,000 valuable woolled sheep, 300 head of cattle, 37 horses, house burnt, totally ruined. Seconded by Gert Mynhardt; a most respectable young man, one of the victims who lost his property when the Kafirs lately took 10,000 sheep from Bezuidenhout's camp. He has not a penny left; reduced to absolute destitution.

The petition from these people, smarting under such an amount of actual injury, indignant at neglect, and in deadly apprehension of the horrors of another irruption, was discussed in the Legislative Council on the 7th October, and there received with the accustomed disbelief by the official members. "The complaints," said the principal organ of Government, "could be disposed of in a few words; the language used at the meetings was to be reprobated as incorrect, imprudent, overcharged, and will not bear the test of close scrutiny, wherein the speaker stated the Kafirs had greatly increased in numbers, in power and prowess, are more formidable than at any other period, and that the forces are unable to

cope with the Kafirs. Now," added he, "the reverse was the fact. No people were so perfectly acquainted with the invulnerable power of the British Government as the Border tribes, and there is not any reason whatever to apprehend a hostile incursion." The Attorney-General thought that men's minds were heated beyond a healthy state, and he had formed a conviction "that at no former period in the history of this Colony, from the days of Van Riebeeck's landing to the present moment, were our former relations, comparatively speaking, so comfortable as at present;* that never did our Colonists suffer so little from native tribes beyond the boundary as they do at this very time." Such was the reception of the remonstrances by a Government seated six hundred miles from the focus of danger, and who with such warnings ought to have been on the alert. The question, who was right and who was wrong, was resolved within a few weeks after the petitions had been consigned to the pigeon-holes of the Colonial Office at Cape Town.

The debates in the Council, although there the "extermination" of the Kafirs was advocated unless they preserved good faith, had no terrors for that people, and the local authority continued to act on the *laissez faire* system. Brigandage continued, the pursuers of thieves were fired upon and wounded, assaults were frequent, and the reply when redress was demanded was "that no relief could be afforded by the Governor." At last the climax of crime was reached by the treacherous murder of a German Missionary, the Rev. Ernest Scholtz, and a servant of Mr. Shepstone in November, while in a wagon at the Fish River Heights on the high road to Fort Peddie, the Missionary being mistaken for the Resident Agent, Mr. Shepstone, who had been previously warned that his life was in danger. The Lieutenant-Governor at once denounced the atrocity, demanded the perpetrators, taxed

* At a later period, this estimable and humane gentleman expressed bitter regret that he had ever used the term of "comfortable relations," which became a by-word and a joke, but a grim one, throughout the whole Colony.

the Chief Pato as its instigator, and threatened (*brutum fulmen*) vengeance; but the Chief and people staved off inquiry and evaded to apprehend the actors in the villainy, and the remembrance of the affair was almost obliterated by the events which so rapidly followed, ushering in others of even direr character.

A very short time previous to this outrage, the Governor, anxious to improve his border policy so as to satisfy both parties and prevent any serious difficulty likely to arise out of the new treaties, had framed an article providing for a "Tribunal of Appeal," to be presided over by a special officer with extensive powers, to be called a "Frontier Commissioner." To this sensible arrangement the other tribes gave in their adherence, but the Gaikas, "under some misunderstanding or sinister influence," resisted; the fact is, it would have interposed too great a restraint upon their inherent proclivities; and with a rash facility greatly to be regretted, the Executive Council permitted it to be omitted or to remain in abeyance, thus giving a victory in statesmanship to the astute barbarians. His Excellency also, under an impression at the time that the Home Government were contemplating the discontinuance of the office of Lieutenant-Governor, whose limited powers reduced him to a cipher, considered he might make the proposed office of Frontier Commissioner "one of higher qualification and responsibility; in fact placing among the tribes an Agent-General competent and empowered to superintend the general working of the new policy, and qualified to be intrusted with the management of all matters concerning the peace of the Eastern Frontier;" and in pursuing this idea appointed a Major Smith—the gentleman who had distinguished himself at Port Natal—to the situation. These arrangements were, however, frustrated by the disturbances which broke out early in the ensuing year.

The threatened abrogation of the Lieutenant-Governorship, as soon as it got wind, alarmed the Eastern Colonists, and the more so as it had the countenance of the Western inhabitants. Both alike condemned the office,

trammelled as it was, and the question which had so long, and continues to agitate the public mind, arose, "Whether there should be two virtually separate and independent Governments, or retaining the whole Colony under one supreme head and dispensing with a Lieutenant-Governor altogether." The Easterns therefore transmitted representations, in December, against the humiliating measure of abolition, asking for "a Lieutenant-Governor, armed with enlarged powers—independent of control by the Governor at Cape Town, who from his distance is constantly liable to erroneous impressions, and inimical to the true interests of Her Majesty's subjects in this Province." To these a reply was given by Mr. Gladstone, in April, 1846, stating that for want of adequate information on the subject he had been unable to advise Her Majesty, calling for farther explanations, and even questioning the "consistency of maintaining in the present form the central Government and Legislature in Cape Town, and whether concessions could not be made between absolute centralization of all local Government at the Cape and what would be virtually a separate Colony." This information the terrible turmoils of the ensuing year prevented being transmitted to the Minister, but there is little doubt the appointments made in 1847 were intended to provide, in a considerable measure, for the requirements of the Eastern Province.

SECTION XI.

1846—Sandilli proposes a Military Post at Block Drift, and then objects—Fruitless Negotiations—Daring Outrage and Murder—War of 1846-7 commences—Burns' Hill Affair—Continued Disasters—General Panic—Jan Tzatzoe, the recipient of Royal Bounty, joins the War Party—Burgher Volunteers commanded by Sir A. Stockenstrom—Victory over Kafirs at the Gwanga River—Expedition against and Convention with Kreli—Truces—Macomo and afterwards Sandilli surrender—Demand made upon Kreli—Another Expedition against him—Capture of Cattle. 1847—Governor Maitland recalled—Sir H. Pottinger Governor—Sir H. Young Lieutenant-Governor—Home Government direct inquiry to be made on claim of Eastern Province to be constituted a Separate Government—Lieutenant-Governor institutes Investigation—His Report, and Administration.

1846.—The new year broke threateningly over the Eastern Province, the fairest and most promising portion of the Colony, wisely governed; but the old, old story again obtrudes itself—"Depredations unabated," and the political weather fast beating up for storms—with another ruin-laden avalanche, requiring only the slightest breath for its launch, which soon came. In 1844, while the Governor was negotiating his treaties with Sandilli, that Chief, through the Diplomatic Agent, proposed a British Military Post should be established at Block Drift, on the Chumie River, and which Sir P. Maitland, in his evidence before the Aborigines Protection Committee (in London, 7th July, 1851), says, "otherwise he should not have had an idea of one *there*;" but he acquiesced, fancying that Sandilli's object was honestly to control the thieves of his clan. In the present January, accordingly, a Colonel of Engineers (Walpole) was commissioned to "inspect" the locality, to ascertain its capabilities, but with the view of procuring, before its erection, a more formal recognition. He then surveyed the ground, no objection being made, although the Resident Agent was on the spot at the time. Shortly afterwards, however, the Kafirs exhibited decided marks of disapprobation, and Sandilli, it is said intimi-

dated by his Councillors, denied his proposal to the Governor, and declared he would resist by force any attempt to build there. The Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Hare, with some troops, then repaired to the locality, where he found the natives mustered in large numbers (with some 4,000 horsemen, with guns, and well supplied with ammunition). The conduct of Sandilli on this occasion was most unruly and insulting, the attitude of the Kafir warriors menacing, and but for the good temper displayed by the Lieutenant-Governor and officers a collision would have been inevitable. After some discussion, the Chief admitted he had used intemperate language, half apologized, but still claimed the ground, notwithstanding his former proposal, and the meeting broke up in much disorder among the natives, conscious they had achieved a triumph. Subsequently, but not at the time, this *contretemps* was used by the natives as one of the pretexts for the ensuing war, the immediate cause of which now appears.*

A demand for redress for some accumulated but un-

* Lieutenant-Governor Hare was noted for making "demonstrations" against the Kafirs. One of these was thus humorously described by the late Captain Bird in a pasquinade of the period :—

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S DEMONSTRATION.

(From the *Mormon Leaves*, cap. 55.)

1. It came to pass when the sixth moon was full in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, that he, John, even he that is swift of foot, arose and said unto his handmaid—

2. Behold ! I will go forth and seek the men of ochre,* they that do steal kine, who dwell by the blue stream of Keisi, and I will smite them, and I will slay them ;

3. And I will take from them the horse and the ox and the calf and the tube which speweth fire : I will utterly destroy them !

4. And his handmaid answered and said—"Go, John !"

5. Then did the armour-bearer bring unto John the sword which is called "Toledo," and is made in Brummagem.

6. And he blew a great blast, and summoned together the multitude and the men of war.

7. And they that wear scarlet cloaks—in their hand is the two-edged sabre, which is also made in Brummagem ; two hundred were there.

8. These be they that do ride on swift horses ; on their heads is the semblance of a lion, but in their hearts is no guile ;

* Ochre—red clay, with which the Kafirs besmear themselves.

satisfied claims and acts of outrage being preferred, the messenger employed for the purpose was threatened with personal violence by Sandilli, who had now joined a war party; and he then sent notice to the other Chiefs he was ready for hostilities. Another interview took place, at which he appeared with 5,000 of his people, all armed, 2,000 of them with guns. This meeting, after some fruitless talk, then broke up, and the troops retired. Such indications of preparedness on the part of the Kafirs naturally caused much uneasiness among the Colonists, who waited upon His Honour in deputation, when he confessed there was danger, and measures should be taken

9. And they that wear the coat of scarlet, in whose hand is the tube of death, five hundred were there.

10. And there also was a multitude rude and boerish, who ride on untamed horses:

11. These be they who till the earth, that she bring forth fruits each in their season; wheat and barley and oats, each in their season.

12. And they set forth upon their way, and they pitched their tents that night in the valley which is called Barooka.

13. And when the sun was high, they set forth again, and passed the river which is called "Chumie," which being interpreted signifieth *ten*, because in that place there is that *one*, and one and none make ten.

14. And John lifted up his eyes, and they were very heavy, and behold afar off was the mountain called "Amatola," that is to say, of calves.

15. And lo! were gathered together the men of ochre; by tens and by hundreds and by thousands stood they, even as the locust which devoureth every green thing; numberless stood they, and much kine was with them.

16. Then did men see as from the multitude of the men of ochre come forth Zamiel, and in his hand was a torch of fire;

17. And he stood over against John and the multitude and the men of war, and his right hand raised he unto his head, and the thumb thereof placed he against his nose, and the fingers thereof spread he very wide,

18. And he cried with a loud voice, and his one word was "Hookey."

19. And Zamiel was seen no more, but in his place was cloud and fire and smoke, and the grass did burn, and it grew very hot.

20. And John said, it is not good for us to be here;

21. Let us then return each man unto his tent, and unto the home from which he came;

22. For the men of ochre are proud in their strength, even as the giant O'Brian in my father's halls.

23. So they turned unto the setting sun, and they reined not their steeds, neither tarried they to broil meat by the wayside, till they reached the gates of the city which is called Beaufort, which being translated means "very pretty."

24. And his handmaid bowed before John even as the rainbow boweth before the sun; in many coloured beauty bowed she before him;

25. And she said—"John, what hast thou done?"

26. And he answered and said—"NOTHING."

for defence. This was on the 7th February; on the 9th, strange to say, he gave notice "there was not the slightest cause for alarm," and which state of affairs he maintained as existing up to the 16th. These declarations failed to reassure the inhabitants, and matters went on in this unsatisfactory manner for a month, when an event took place closing the reign of peace, and gave to "young Kafirland" its opportunity for the plunder and bloodshed so long desired.

On one of the frequent occasions of Macomo's visits to his favourite canteens at Fort Beaufort, where he habitually became intoxicated, a Kafir of his suite—belonging to the Chief Tola—committed a theft which was taken no further notice of than causing the restitution of the property, and driving the offender out of the place. Afterwards the same native was detected while purloining a hatchet from one of the Commissariat stores at the same Fort, when he was apprehended and sent, under escort, with other malefactors, to Graham's Town, to be there tried. With this prisoner there was a Hottentot, to whom, for the sake of security, he had been manacled; an English soldier also, and a Fingo were at the same time sent. These two, ironed together, and the whole placed most improvidently under charge of a small guard, had not proceeded many miles when, at a pass scarped out of the rock, called Dan's Hoogte, on the Kat River, they were attacked suddenly by a strong body of Kafirs, who, as they found it difficult to liberate their countryman from the unfortunate Hottentot, deliberately severed the handcuff at his wrist, and then pierced him to death, the soldier and Fingo escaping by concealment in the stream. The murderers were then formally demanded by the Government, but were refused to be surrendered by Sandilli, Botman, and Tola, upon which the Governor declared war, and on the 31st of March issued a manifesto, in which are given, as the causes of his complaints against the Kafirs, "their systematic violation of justice and good faith." And the war thus initiated got the name of "the War of the Axe."

Of the course of events during hostilities protracted for nearly two years, attended at first with the most disastrous results, it is not necessary to go into lengthened detail. One Kafir war is but the counterpart of the one preceding, except that the latter always increases in difficulty and duration, the enemy becoming educated—and he is an apt scholar in the art. The features are, however, constant—the troops and Colonists in pursuit of a flying foe always betaking himself to the jungle, where he has the advantage of deadly aim, himself concealed, killing his antagonist, whom he frequently mutilates; and when victory crowns the civilized opponents it is only after a dangerous, worthless, and inglorious campaign.*

The forces took the field on the 11th April, but the season was unusually unpropitious for military operations. An intense drought set in, interfering with the transport of the requisite supplies, and increasing the impediments to an invading army in a most difficult country. To strike a rapid and decisive blow in the dense fastnesses of the Amatola forests, the stronghold and secure hiding-place for Kafir loot, was considered to be the first and most important step, and a body of troops was dispatched for that purpose, *viâ* the Mission Station at Burns' Hill, on the upper part of the Keiskamma River, which place was reached on the 15th. The next day some smart fighting took place, when the Mission Station was attacked by the savages, who succeeded in capturing, plundering, and destroying 63 baggage-wagons out of 123 with which the force was encumbered. The expedition was then obliged

* Jan Tzatzoe, the "Christian trophy," and specimen of a real live "oppressed Kafir," as has been already narrated, who, when in England in 1836 with the Rev. Dr. Philip, had gained entrance to the Royal Palace, shaken hands with the Royal children, and received money for schools, now joined the war party, and was present during the attack on the British Military Station, Fort Beaufort; and in his hut, which was destroyed during the war, was found a copy of a violent work, from the pen of one of the pseudo-philanthropic party, entitled "Wrongs of the Kafirs, by Justus." Jan could read English, and no doubt the book was indiscreetly sent to him for the purpose of "nursing his wrath to keep it warm."

to fall back upon Block Drift. This was the commencement of disasters soon followed up by others. The new post of Victoria was obliged to be abandoned and burnt, and all communication with the Colony was thus cut off; 41 more wagons fell into the enemy's hands at Trumpeter's Drift, on the Great Fish River; Fort Peddie was attacked, and the cattle, some 4,000 in number, taken; and in these affairs several lives were sacrificed.

The moral effect of such calamities was most distressing. A general coalition of Kafirs, even the wavering, ensued; and the enemy, flushed with its brilliant successes, poured into the Colony, causing a general panic and the abandonment of the country by the farmers into the town or to camp, where, huddled together for months, they suffered privations of the severest kind. In May, however, some slight check was put upon the inroad into the upper parts of the Colony by the appearance there of bodies of burghers from Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, Cradock, and other places, who by the end of the month pretty well covered the Northern Divisions. These forces were patriotically joined by Sir Andreas Stockenström, who was invited by the inhabitants to do so, and he was placed in charge of these contingents by the Governor as Commandant-General.

The first perceptible diversion in favour of the Colony took place on the 8th of June, when Colonel Somerset, with the 7th Dragoon Guards, the Cape Corps, and other troops, fell in with the Kafirs at the Gwanga, a small stream emptying itself into the Keiskamma, and there defeated them with so considerable a loss as greatly to damp their ardour. By the close of the month, the Tambookie tribes, who, although harbouring the cattle taken by the Kafirs, had hitherto manifested no other show of hostility, began to mingle in the fray, while Kreli, who had been tampered with, was only biding his time. Still the state of the weather was so unfavourable that few movements of consequence could be undertaken, and the Governor seriously contemplated retiring upon the base

of his supplies at Waterloo Bay, a new landing-place discovered on the eastern side of the mouth of the Great Fish River, with the intention to resume hostilities in October, in order to afford time to recruit the men and horses. Fortunately such a resolve was overruled, and instead thereof it was judiciously advised a demonstration should be made on the Amatolas, and at the same time on the Paramount Chief Kreli himself. The former plan was carried into effect with some favourable results, and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone and Sir Andreas Stockenstrom proceeded on the 20th August, with a force, to Kreli's abode, where they found him greatly alarmed at the rapid, sudden, and unexpected movement, and induced him to enter into a convention which prevented any open interference on his part; but the mission was otherwise a failure, causing much dissatisfaction and a serious difference between Colonel Johnstone and Sir Andreas. On their return, they made an attack upon the Balotta country, occupied by the Tambookies, defeating them with much loss of cattle. The success of these latter evolutions so quailed the confederates, that they sent round notices that "the Amatolas were broken to pieces, and Kreli's door was shut."

A truce was now granted to Sandilli, and after waiting for some time, a second suspension of hostilities, at his urgent request, was acceded to, and it was fondly expected, as the Kafirs had now gotten all they could in the way of plunder, peace would soon ensue; indeed the Kafirs openly declared they were wearied and would fight no more. The Governor therefore repaired to Block Drift, for a final conference with the belligerent Chiefs to settle the terms of submission, which were the surrender of 20,000 cattle, 2,500 muskets, and the entire evacuation of the right bank of the Chumie. Macomo, who on the 17th September had visited Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell to say he came in the name of all the Chiefs to sue for peace, surrendered himself; but Sandilli continued to delay entering into conditions until His Excellency's patience gave way, and on his determination to close

negotiations, the crafty cripple* removed from the camp. Hostilities were then renewed, a desultory warfare succeeded, in which many cattle were taken, when Sandilli and Botman at length gave themselves up; but Pato and a few minor Chiefs continued to hold out, taking refuge in the country in the neighbourhood of the Kei.

The Gaikas, Tambookies, and the other tribes west of the Kei, except Pato, having now submitted, began to enrol themselves as British subjects, and the Governor, having reason to believe he had arrived very near to the end of the war, prepared an outline of his future policy. Still, however, dissatisfied with the conduct of Kreli and the result of the mission dispatched in August, he sent a second message to that Chief on their return, requiring reparation for his treatment of the Government Agent and British subjects in his country, for the hostile acts of some of his people against the Colony and the troops, and for harbouring stolen cattle within his dominion. To this demand, after awaiting two months, an evasive reply was received, and His Excellency, in December, communicated his ultimatum, insisting upon the payment of 15,000 head of cattle as indemnity, an engagement to act in the future in a friendly manner to the Colony, upon which peace should be confirmed with him; otherwise he would dispatch a force across the Kei to compel obedience to his demand. This attempt to procure satisfaction was ineffectual. The troops therefore crossed the stream, and in a few days captured some 10,000 head of cattle.

1847.—While matters were thus proceeding, the Governor, after his visit to the banks of the Kei, returned to head-quarters at Butterworth, where, to his surprise, early in January, he received notice of his recall from Home—a treatment he considered as a weighty censure, especially when conducting what he fancied would be the last of the operations of the war; and under the circum-

* CRIPPLE.—Sandilli has one leg withered. When he was about to assume Chieftainship on the death of his father, Gaika, some objections were made on that account, but Macomo overruled them, observing that “a Chief governs by his head and not his leg.”

stances it was no doubt unfortunate, for it emboldened the Kafirs, giving an appearance of truth to their assertions that "the people of England would not allow them to be beaten by the Colonists, and that the ceded territory must revert to them"—assertions which they were excusable in believing, being so counselled by false friends, and remembering with savage sagacity how everything had been conceded after the hostilities of 1835.*

**Administration of Governor and High Commissioner†
Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart., G.C.B.,**

AND

**Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, Knight,
Lieutenant-Governor.**

The political transactions of the Colony were at this time almost exclusively confined to its Eastern portion and the adjoining territory, which must continue to be the case from the circumstance that the chief regions beyond,

* On the 12th January three officers were cruelly butchered by the Kafirs—Captain Gibson, Dr. Howell, and the Hon. Mr. Chetwynd, along with two Burghers.—See Colonel Napier's work, vol. ii. page 343.

† The commission was dated 10th October, 1846, granting to the High Commissioner a salary of £1,000 per annum, in addition to that as Governor of the Cape Colony of £5,000 a year, payable out of the Colonial Revenue. This officer is entirely independent of Colonial control, and amenable to the Imperial Government alone. All native affairs beyond the Colony are entrusted to his single management, without recurrence to any board whatever. If he informs the Parliament of the state of Border relations, it is a condescension on his part, for he can withhold it at pleasure. He can involve the Colony in war with outsider tribes, tolerate (as too many of our Governors have done) the excesses of the barbarians; he can conclude peace abruptly, just at the moment before entire subjugation of an enemy, leaving the embers of discontent still smouldering; can annex or cede territory—and who can say him nay? He resides 600 to 800 miles from the field of his especial duties, and is only guided in their discharge by reports from his subordinates—men, with all their acknowledged ability, liable to be, as they have often been, deceived by the cunning of the crafty

where anything of importance can occur, all lie in that direction—that is, on the north and east; while the Western Province is bounded by one interminable waste, the Kalihari Desert, incapable of being peopled, and so well described by the poet.*

The events now to be related partake of a two-fold character, and as they occur almost side by side, it will, in order to prevent confusion, be required to treat them separately as military and political.

Poor General Maitland thus summarily shelved, the government of the Colony, with a patent as “High Commissioner” was offered to and accepted by Major-General Sir Henry Pottinger, the Governor of Madras, a distinguished statesman and the renowned dictator of the Chinese Treaty of 1843. His appointment was dated November 2, 1846, and he arrived at Graham’s Town on the 27th January of the following year. His Cape Town reign, as resident in that metropolis, is the shortest on record, and

savage. The office of High Commissioner is unknown to the Cape Constitution; his administration is irresponsible to and irresistible by the Colonists, whose safety and very existence is thus entrusted to one sole mind. He is, in fact, the Minister of the Imperial Government as regards the “native foreigners,” and, with the example of Governor Eyre of Jamaica, may become the trembling tool of the Aborigines Protection Society and representative of Exeter Hall “notions.” With a Border Department and a Minister of the Interior, much of the evils of this office would probably be corrected.

* A region of emptiness, howling and drear,
Which man hath abandoned from famine and fear,
Which the snake and the lizard inhabit alone,
With the twilight bat from the old hollow stone;
Where grass, nor herb, nor shrub takes root,
Save poisonous thorns that pierce the foot;
A region of drought where no river glides,
Nor rippling brook with osier’d sides—
Where reedy pool, nor mossy fountain,
Nor shady tree, nor cloud-capt mountain,
Is found to refresh the aching eye,
But the barren earth and the burning sky,
And the blank horizon round and round,
Without a living sight or sound.

Pringle’s “Afar in the Desert.”

the absence does not appear to have injured the interests of that pretty, populous, and pleasant city, or deranged the current progress of Civil affairs—evidence that the management of the Colony can be as well administered on the Frontier. The cause of his appointment is gathered from Earl Grey's despatch, being "the protracted state, beyond all example, of the Kafir contest, the great expenditure of public money, the wide destruction of private property, interruption of peaceful pursuits, and an abiding sense of insecurity;" and he was directed to bring the Kafir War to an early and decisive issue.

Shortly after the advent of the Governor, Sir Henry E. F. Young arrived in Graham's Town on the 23rd April, as Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief over the Eastern Districts of the Colony—a Government described as "separate and distinct." To this gentleman—an experienced Civil servant, and who had been Colonial Secretary to Sir B. D'Urban in Guiana—was especially assigned peculiar and onerous duties, and with him recommenced the agitation of the great question between the two provinces, similar to that which had before arisen in Australasia between the parent Colony and its neighbours, Queensland and Victoria, whether the future government of this largely-extended territory should be continued as a whole or be divided into two separate and independent States, or, as an alternative, that the seat of Government be removed to some more convenient and central locality.

During the administration of Sir Peregrine Maitland, Mr. Gladstone—moved, no doubt, by the representations so constantly transmitted to the Colonial Office—sincerely desirous to meet the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of this disturbed part of the Imperial dominions, directed that officer to institute inquiries, with the aid of his Executive Council, into the real nature of their complaints, "as he had been impeded in giving advice to the Sovereign by a deficiency of information;" but this was entirely precluded by the war. The duty was consequently left to his successor, Sir H. Pottinger, who with praiseworthy promptitude addressed a despatch on the 22nd June to

the new Lieutenant-Governor, stating it was perfectly impossible for him at that time to carry out the instructions of the Minister; and, as His Honour was on the spot, he recommended him to take the opportunity of consulting with the most influential and best-informed of the petitioners, and to ascertain their views.

Losing not an instant of time, Sir H. Young,* with his characteristic energy, at once (26th June) addressed a circular to thirty-eight gentlemen residing in various parts of the Province, requesting their evidence in writing, or personal conference, and concluded this invitation in the following words:—"I cannot, however, too plainly and firmly assure you that my participation in the discussion will be scrupulously limited to a conscientious balance of the evidence adduced, without any feeling of partizanship in favour of the independence of the Eastern Province Government or any antagonism against the form of the existing central Government at Cape Town; and this disposition of mind, which official duty cogently enjoins on me, will, I trust, be equally cherished and acted on by you, from motives of enlightened patriotism."

This appeal was responded to by the inhabitants with gratitude and delight. At last, and for the first time, they found they were to be consulted as to their wishes, and that at the instance of the Home Government itself, and through two such enlightened men as Pottinger and Young. Eight individuals by letter, eleven regularly convened public meetings of inhabitants by resolutions, and four

* This intelligent Civil servant was not long in discovering the evils under which the Frontier people were suffering, and as early as the 10th May, in a letter to Sir H. Pottinger, he says:—"Even from my short residence here a very strong impression that the existing form of Government is not so conducive to that early and extensive improvement of the country which is so obviously and so greatly needed"—"the remoteness of the present metropolis of the whole Colony, &c., the present and probable future, the almost exclusively English character of the intelligent and enterprising portion of the Eastern population, render a change expedient and necessary." The population "have at present no direct interest in, and therefore no sympathy with, a Government so remote."

full reports from Municipalities and other influential bodies, provided the information requested, and all concurred in recommending, as the only cure for the evils the Province languished and suffered under, either THE REMOVAL OF THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT FROM CAPE TOWN TO SOME MORE CENTRAL SPOT, OR A PERFECT SEPARATION OF THE TWO PROVINCES.*

Upon the data thus obtained His Honour framed his report, dated the 14th October of the same year. This able State document embraced the following arguments :—Evils of the remoteness of the Western Executive ; anxiety of the inhabitants to be placed in the position recommended by the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry in 1826 ; sufficiency of the Eastern Province revenues for separation, shown (by reference to statistical returns ; removal considered as an equivalent for a division of the Colony ; unanimous dissatisfaction as to the general management of the Colony by the existing Government as regards roads, Land Registry Office, Surveyor-General's Office, Educational Department, postmasters, and other establishments ; absence of all representation in the Councils ; the Lieutenant-Governorship as at present constituted is (an opinion in which His Honour coincided) not only useless, but a positive clog to the public service ; that the Eastern Districts were entitled to a Political Constitution (of which he sketched a plan) ; that removal or separation was inevitable ; that removal would not be ruinous to Cape Town, as its commercial and political importance has never suffered from the absence for long periods of nine of its Governors (from 1819 to 1847)† ; that *removal was*

* Persons : Sir A. Stockenstrom, F. O. Hutchinson, G. F. Stokes, G. D. Joubert, M. B. Shaw, C. J. Fair, T. Philipps, J. C. Chase = 8.

Meetings : Port Elizabeth, Graham's Town, Sidbury, Fort Beaufort, Cradock, Uitenhage, Somerset, Salem, Bathurst, Oliphant's Hoek, Bushman's River = 11.

Special reports from Municipalities, &c. : Port Elizabeth, Somerset, Graaff-Reinet, Graham's Town = 4.

† Sir H. Young gives the names of the Governors who had been for a length of time on the Frontier without injury to Cape Town :—Lord C. Somerset, Sir R. S. Donkin, Sir R. Bourke, Sir L. Cole, Sir B.

preferable to separation, he deeming it “impolitic to subdivide and thereby weaken the power and resources of the Colony; and that, on the contrary, a facility should be given to wield them vigorously and promptly in their aggregate form by the stationing of the most potent Executive authority that can be created at a convenient vicinity of the point of danger,” &c.

The history of Sir Henry Young's administration deserves to be written, but space here does not admit of it. Brief as it was—barely ten months—it was crowded with efforts to benefit, not only the Eastern portion, but the whole Colony. In the manly assertion of his rights to govern a distinct and separate Government, to which he had been appointed by “Royal Letters Patent,” he was thwarted by the Cape Town Executive. He claimed the prerogative of pardon: that merciful exercise of his office was denied. He demanded a fair share of the convict labour monopolized by the West: was refused. He asked for roads and bridges (especially one at Sundays River), the funds for which were expended in the favoured West: never attended to. He called for the issue of title deeds, of which a very large number were in abeyance after possession of the soil had been had for a quarter of a century: the source of endless legal complications. He solicited additional Magistrates. He begged for means to construct or repair churches, gaols, to aid schools and their teachers, to help libraries, to augment inadequate salaries, to establish direct postal communication overland with Natal, for moorings for ships at Algoa Bay, for a lighthouse on Cape Receiffe, and many other improvements, besides the incorporation within the Colony of the farmers beyond the Stormberg Spruit:* to all of which he received a cold

D'Urban, Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, Sir G. Napier, Sir P. Maitland, and Sir H. Pottinger. Some years afterwards, Mr. Armstrong, a member of the Legislative Assembly, moved for a return of the length of the periods of time in which Colonial Governors had been absent from the Western metropolis, but the answer from the Colonial Office was *non mi ricordo*—or, no minutes had been preserved.

* Incorporated in 1849, by order of Governor Sir H. Smith, under the Civil Commissioner of Albert, the late secretary to Sir H. Young.

refusal couched upon predictions all of which have been falsified.*

* The Executive Council at Cape Town in this case showed its inaptitude to appreciate the resources of the Eastern Province, and considerable ignorance. It based its objections to Sir H. Young's recommendation on the following grounds, which were not long in being disproved, as will be seen :—

1st. *That an extension of territory was impracticable.*

The boundary, then at the Fish River, is now (1869) at the Kei, and was but lately at the Bashee.

2nd. *That the produce of wool in the East has well-nigh reached its utmost limits.*

The quantity of wool exported thence in 1846 was 2,188,637 lbs.

" " " 1868 „ 31,753,679 „

3rd. *That in truth the Province has almost attained its maximum advancement.*

In 1847 the value of fixed property was	£1,666,754
In 1868.....	9,530,834
In 1847 its commerce, imports, and exports were	424,604
In 1868.....	2,782,290

SECTION XII.

1847 continued—Kafir overtures for Peace on the *statu quo ante bellum*—Hostilities recommence—Sandilli declared a Rebel—Negotiations with Kreli—Five Officers murdered—Governor Sir H. Smith arrives—Enlarges Colonial Boundary—Pato surrenders—Conquests of 1835 resumed. 1848—Amakosa Kafirs swear allegiance—Peace with Kreli—Cost of the War—Kafir Police established—Governor reduces the Military force—Orange River affairs—Farther extension of Colonial territory—District of Albert founded—A Statue to Governor proposed—Governor opposes separation of the Provinces—Changes his opinion thereon—Revolt in Orange River Sovereignty quelled—Governor improvises plan of Parliamentary Government—Objections of Eastern inhabitants to it—A Lighthouse at Cape Agulhas—Cape Town becomes a Cathedral City.

WE return to the already wearying subject of Military movements, and the progress of the war. Pato, notwithstanding the raid into the country of Kreli in December last, still held out, when Sir H. Pottinger, in March, decided to attack and drive him over the Kei; but the Colonial levies having been mostly disbanded, great difficulty was experienced in procuring volunteers or re-enlisting men already jaded by the weather, from the tedious length of the marches, and the not too great redundancy of provisions. This occasioned much delay, and had a bad effect both upon the enemy, only partially beaten, and those who had already given in their reluctant adhesion. Among the latter was the Chief Sandilli, who now, about “the Ides of March,” at a meeting held to receive a message from His Excellency, had the sheer assurance to talk of a *statu quo ante bellum*, or, as expressed by the Gaika Commissioner, Mr. Calderwood, “he, Sandilli, in the name of the rest of the Kafirs, expressed regret and surprise that things had not been allowed to revert to the position in which they stood before the war (of course, as it was in 1836). This kind of language, as well as other indications, satisfied the Commissioner of that Chief’s insincerity and indisposition to act up to his engagements. The Governor

then intimated his determination that if any of the Gaika Chiefs who had submitted and registered themselves as British subjects be guilty of any hostile act, he would endeavour to have them apprehended and sent to Robben Island as State prisoners. The character of this "treacherous and turbulent Chief," as Sir Henry Pottinger correctly termed him, was soon exhibited. Early in June his people, with his knowledge, perpetrated some thefts in the Kat River; the stolen property (some goats) was traced to their kraals; the Commissioner claimed restitution—the surrender of the thief and a fine of three oxen legally due for the offence; some goats were returned; Sandilli denied any knowledge of the thief, when the Governor decided to enforce the full demand, and in default to have the Chief seized and placed in confinement. After a brief interval, Sandilli proving recusant, an attempt to apprehend him was made on the 16th of June, when the Chief eluded his pursuers; and on the troops employed on the service driving off a few cattle, they were furiously assailed by full 2,000 armed natives, who appear to have been perfectly prepared for the affair. After a march of fifteen hours, skirmishing all the way, they returned to Blockdrift, losing an officer and one man wounded, but killing some of the enemy; and thus opened the first scene in the second act of the War of 1846-7. The weather being cold and unpropitious for warlike operations, and the Kafir season for planting and sowing maize and millet begun and favourable, Sandilli attempted to open negotiations, pretending that the late affair with the troops arose out of some misunderstanding, that he and his people were hungry, and begged that the cattle might be restored. The Commissioner's reply was "that there was no misunderstanding whatever," and inquired where is the thief?—where were the firearms employed in the late attack at Sandilli's place on the troops?—for Sandilli said he had submitted to Government and given up *all* his guns. This was on the 5th July. Still professing to be friendly, the other Chiefs continued harping on the restoration of the ceded territory; but the Governor

continued firm, and not likely to listen at any time, and still less at the present, to proposals of the kind; and so, awaiting the long-expected reinforcements, he bided his time.

Preparations at last completed, the arrival of troops and levies (somewhat about 2,000 men)—precautions taken to protect the Colony in the rear from attack—a forward movement was determined upon against the recreant; but with extraordinary forbearance another demand was made upon him on the 18th August, merely to surrender 200 guns and give up the thief already claimed, which the Governor in his despatch home said, "I think will satisfy the offended dignity and honour of the British Government and likewise demonstrate to the other Gaika Chiefs that we have the power of coercing them." This excess of leniency had no effect; Sandilli made overtures to Kreli and Pato for assistance, and His Excellency, on the 27th, issued a Proclamation detailing the reasons which actuated him, declared war and the Chief a rebel. Sandilli was soon followed up into the Amatolas, where active operations were carried on with great success, and at last, on the 19th October, he, with eighty of his people, including his brother Anta, surrendered themselves.

The successful termination of the expedition against Sandilli enabled Lieutenant-General Berkeley to commence a movement against Pato and Kreli, and on the 31st October Colonel Somerset, being dispatched for that purpose, fell in with about 800 of the enemy, strongly entrenched at a kraal of Pato's on the Chechuba, a stream falling into the Great Kei not far from the coast. At this place one of the Kafir braves invited hostilities by riding out to the front, exclaiming aloud, "This is the day we mean to fight and make an end of this war." The challenge was as readily accepted as it was undauntedly given; within twenty minutes the native force was completely routed out from the stronghold, with only two men (an officer and another) wounded on the part of the Colonial force; but many Kafirs bit the dust. On the 2nd November the Governor directed communications to be

opened once more with Kreli, reducing the demand formerly made of the payment of 15,000 head of cattle to 10,000, that he should engage to be for the future friendly towards the Colony and all subjects of or under the protection of the British Government, and to relinquish all pretensions to any portions of the territory westward of the Kei, and that on entering upon these conditions a peace should be concluded with him, or he must abide the consequences ; His Excellency adding to his message that no treaty could be made with him, as experience has shown the utter worthlessness of doing so.

A melancholy event occurred a few days (13th November) after the affair at the Chechuba ; five officers, Captain Baker, Lieutenant Faunt, Ensign Burnop, and Dr. Campbell, of the 73rd Regiment, and Assistant-Surgeon Lock, 7th Dragoon Guards, being barbarously killed in an ambush by the natives while riding out on pleasure from head-quarters ; but there was the melancholy satisfaction that some of the murderers were speedily overtaken and paid with their lives for their stealthy attack. The expedition into Kreli's country, which had been detained on the right banks of the Kei in consequence of the state of the weather, was at last, on the 19th November, enabled to cross the stream, where, and afterwards on the Somo River, a considerable number of cattle were captured, several of the barbarians shot, operations which seem to have cowed Pato as well as the Paramount Chief, and led them both to reflect whether the game of war was so profitable a speculation as they expected it would turn out.

While affairs were thus favourably progressing, news arrived in October, very unlooked-for, that a fresh change was imminent—another slide in the political phantasmagoria. The war hitherto “dragging its slow length along” was found to be entailing an enormous charge upon the English Exchequer, a constant drain upon the British Army, with a loss of prestige in carrying on hostilities with a set of savages, and the ingloriousness of a “little war.” The Home authorities therefore con-

sidered it imperatively expedient to interfere, and deemed no fitter officer could be selected than the administrator of the hitherto proscribed D'Urban System of 1835, Colonel at that time—now the victor of Aliwal—Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Smith. No appointment could have been so welcome to the inhabitants of the Frontier and the community of South Africa in general, or so desired by Sir Harry himself; the former anticipated a return to the wise and successful policy of “the best of Governors,” and the latter the restoration of long-desired peace to a Colony to which he was personally attached.

The recall, however, of Sir H. Pottinger, now on the eve of conquest, and who, there is little doubt, contemplated a similar mode of managing the natives as Governor D'Urban—that is, by absorption of their territory, the extinguishment of Chieftainship, and the reception of the barbarous people as subjects of Britain—rather damped the spirits, and the abolition of the Lieutenant-Governorship, which the new Governor seems to have insisted upon, cast something like a shade upon the universal joy, and which was increased by the loss of so amiable and energetic a man as Sir Henry Young, who had raised high hopes by his report before alluded to, and who, it was known, intended to initiate large improvements, for at the time the intelligence reached him of the abolition of his office he had just directed his secretary to commence preparations for their visit to each of the divisions of his Government in order to acquire, by personal inspection, full knowledge of the wants and wishes of a people he had begun to appreciate and whose destinies he had hoped to rule over for some years to come.

Administration of Governor and High Commissioner
Lieut.-General Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, Bart.,
C.C.B.

FROM DECEMBER 1, 1847, TO MARCH 31, 1852.

Sir Harry arrived in Cape Town on the anniversary of the abolition of slavery, the 1st December (omen happy, but unrealized), on the 14th he reached Port Elizabeth, where he met the abject sot, Macomo, who had there sought a refuge, and on the 17th entered Graham's Town, receiving at that place, and for miles on his approach, an ovation never lavished on any preceding Governor. The people were delirious with joy. The same day he, however, somewhat checked their enthusiasm by releasing the crafty Chief Sandilli, then a *detenu* in the Provost Prison. After giving him some severe reproofs, while the barbarian crouched at his feet like a sneaking spaniel, he dismissed him, in the name of Her Majesty, to join his own people, there as it turned out, with characteristic gratitude for the generous confidence shown him, to foment within a few months the most devastating war that ever afflicted the Colony, and imperilling the very life of his benefactor.

The Governor now issued a most important proclamation (17th December), enlarging the limits of the country on the north by some 50,000 square miles of country, the nomadic abode of a few Bushmen and predatory natives dangerous to peace, making the Orange River from its estuary in the Atlantic to where the Kraai (properly Grey) River discharges its copious waters into that noble stream, thence along the Grey southwardly, nearly in a straight line to the mouth of the Kieskamma in the Indian Ocean, a good because a well-defined natural boundary of running stream and rugged mountain, compact, well rounded, and, unlike the old arbitrary line, not liable to be misunderstood or its description perverted. To this extension

some demur was made by Earl Grey in his despatch of the 31st March, 1848, but, confiding in the Governor, it was quietly acquiesced in; and thus the vexed question—the old bone of contention between Kafir and Colonist, the debateable land of the neutro-ceded territory, was settled for ever. Here the Governor proposed to establish Military villages, which were subsequently formed and peopled by soldiers and their families, but not long endured by the savages, as will be seen; and this fertile tract he called “the Division of Victoria,” and to its chief town, near Fort Hare, gave the name of Alice.

On the 23rd December, the Chief Pato having in the meantime surrendered himself, the Governor held his first great meeting with the Kafir Chiefs and people westward of the Kei at King William’s Town (the creation of Sir B. D’Urban in 1835), on the Buffalo River, issuing a proclamation of the same date annulling all former treaties with them for the reasons he gave—“No more treaties,” for “as often as any temptation has been presented they have been treated with contempt.” By this State paper he annexed all the country between the Kieskamma and the Kei, as vested in the Queen, to be called “British Kaffraria,” which territory was to be held by the Kafir Chiefs and people from and under Her Majesty. He also invited the Missionaries to return and hold their stations, not from the Chiefs, but the British Sovereign. To traders he held out inducements, provided they took out licenses and tried to substitute, as soon as possible, useful articles of traffic in preference to beads, &c. Over this territory he appointed a Chief Commissioner in the person of Colonel Mackinnon, regulated its military requirements, established Military posts, and named King William’s Town its capital. Thus, after the lapse of thirteen years, through the successive failures of the Glenelg-Stockenstrom, the Napier, and the Maitland systems, things reverted almost to the exact state in which Sir Benjamin D’Urban had brought them in 1835, the only difference being the alteration in the title of the province—“British Kaffraria” for “Queen Adelaide.”

1848.—Affairs having so far settled down, the business of reconstruction commenced. The Governor met Sandilli and all the Chiefs of the cis-Kei at King William's Town on the 7th January, and addressing them in his peculiar style, reminded them how prosperous and with what bright prospects he had left them many years before, and how changed their circumstances had become through their own turbulence. He then demanded that they should acknowledge the supremacy of the Queen of England and himself, her representative (the Inkosi Inkulu); that no allegiance was to be considered due to any other, not even to Kreli, the hitherto paramount Chief; that they and their people should obey the laws and commands of the Inkosi Inkulu, cease the practices consequent on the belief of witchcraft, abandon and prevent the gross customs of "violation," punish murderers by death, abstain from theft among themselves and on the Colonists; that they would henceforth hold their lands direct from the Queen and not the Chiefs, Her Majesty alone being their Sovereign; they must abolish the usage of buying wives, the source of all robbery, listen to the Missionaries, and on the anniversary of that day each year bring an ox as token of fealty. As a matter of course, all the Amakosa Chiefs and Councillors present readily swore to these stipulations (they would have done so if there had been double the number), and His Excellency believed as easily that his "language and mode of demonstration these people fully understand and will never forget." Alas, the shortness of savage memory; every impression was obliterated in a few months!

On the 17th, Kreli, finding the game was up, arrived at King William's Town, where peace was concluded with him once more; and thus terminated the unprovoked War of 1846-7, after having cost the Imperial Treasury £1,100,000 sterling, some say more, the Border Colonists nearly half that amount, the loss of eight British officers and several soldiers of the army, and many Frontier inhabitants.

His Excellency then appointed Commissioners over the

Gaika and T'Slambi clans, with a Chief Commissioner and Commandant and a regular staff of officers for the British Kaffrarian "Territory." He also carried out the plan devised by Sir H. Pottinger, of a Kafir Police, from which, unfortunately trusting in their fidelity, he anticipated "great and good results," and invited non-commissioned officers and soldiers to settle in the Military villages on tenure of Military service. Quiet thus restored, the Governor, hard pressed by the Home authorities, who afterwards very unfairly upbraided him for the step, was led into the error of reducing the forces from above 6,000 men, the fatal consequences of which were soon developed.

The disorganized state of affairs over the Orange River, where disputes had arisen between the expatriated Colonial Boers and the natives settled there with no superior claim beyond appropriation at an earlier date, and which had called for the interference of Sir P. Maitland, now demanded the attention of Sir Harry Smith, who proceeded to the scene of disorder and was received with open arms by the farmers; here he amended a former treaty with the Chief of the Griquas, entered into one with Moshesh, the head of the Basuto tribe, and then proclaimed as "absolute" the Sovereignty extended by Governor Maitland (in 1845) over the Boers, and virtually over the native Chiefs. In his despatch to Earl Grey (3rd February, 1848), while defending the annexation, Sir Harry makes a statement very apposite to the present condition of our relations with the natives on both our borders—"My position has been analogous to that of every Governor-General who has proceeded to India. All have been fully impressed with the weakness of that policy which has extended the Company's possessions; and yet few, if any, especially the men of more gifted talents, have ever resigned their government without having done that which, however greatly to be condemned by the theory of policy, circumstances demanded and imperatively imposed upon them."

Reference has already been made to the Governor's

extension of territory on his arrival ; but a population of a different character in very considerable numbers were now established on the North-eastern Border of the Colony between the Storm or White Mountains and the Orange River,* originally a Bushman country, but at this time without native inhabitants, where they had built substantial farm-houses and depastured large flocks and herds, and were in very thriving circumstances. These people had been incorporated into the Colony by Sir B. D'Urban in 1835, but on the accession to power by Sir A. Stockenstrom, he in the reckless system of retrogression, repudiated them, and on the 21st March, 1838, flatly refused their petition to remain there "as British subjects" and "paying taxes," peremptorily urging their return within the Colonial limits as established by the Glenelg policy. On the 16th May, 1847, they repeated their application by memorial to Lieutenant-Governor Young, who was favourably disposed towards them and intended to recommend their re-admittance into the Colonial family, but his tenure of office was too abruptly terminated to carry his views into effect. Sir Harry Smith, in January, 1848, directed the present writer, the late Lieutenant-Governor's Secretary, to make a report upon the subject, and on its receipt at once directed him to proceed to the locality, appointing him at the same time Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate of a new district there, which he called Albert,† with orders for him to organize it and take

* Stormbergen, Wittebergen, and Nu Gariep.

† In 1844, the Dutch farmers on the Stormberg Spruit, at a place called Klip Drift, established a Dutch Reformed place of worship, and around which, as usual, soon clustered some small tenements for the families resorting to it on Sundays. Then the common consequence took place ; some traders settled there, driving a most lucrative traffic by barter and for gold, of which there was a large amount in the wagon-chests of the Boers. Sir P. Maitland visited the place in 1845, and the people, wishing to compliment the Governor, asked him to give to the village his own name. With a humility they could not appreciate he declined, and so in a "huff" they christened their bantling by the democratic title of *Burghersdorp*—the town of the people. It afterwards became the capital of the district.

ver the inhabitants, east of the Stormberg stream; and on the 9th January, 1848, the new boundary was proclaimed. It was, however, subsequently found that even this extension did not include a number of farmers living farther to the eastward, beyond the Kraai or Grey River, and these, with the additional territory to where the White Mountains impinge upon the Orange River, were, after careful consideration and personal inspection, included within the Colonial boundary. Having the sanction of His Excellency to select a proper site for the capital of the new district, the Civil Commissioner (the writer of these Annals) fixed upon a spot at the Somerset ford of the Orange River, about a thousand miles from its mouth, where it is as wide, when full, as the Thames at London Bridge; and there on the 12th of May, 1849, under the British ensign and the arms and motto of the Founders' Company of London* ("God the only Founder"), was laid, with the usual ceremonies, the foundation-stone (including coins, corn, wine, and oil) of Aliwal North, the first town established on the Orange River.†

Sir Harry, the "eagle-eyed" and almost ubiquitous—a better General than Statesman—after his visit to the Transgariep and Kaffrarian territory, returned to Cape

* The writer is a citizen and liveryman of London and a member of this Guild.

† The selection of the site for Aliwal North was made for several reasons, viz., *inter alia*, its productive soil, fine pasturage, healthy climate, owing to its elevation, and beautiful scenery on the banks of an ever-flowing river, its copious supply of water from the Orange, and command of irrigable streams from the tepid sulphuretted hydrogen springs of the Buffels Vlei, which deliver fourteen million gallons of water every twenty-four hours, and before reaching the town part with all that is disagreeable and impure; then from the circumstance that it is on the direct northern high road from the port of East London to the two Dutch Republics and the Basuto tribes under Moshesh. It has favourably progressed since its establishment, and become celebrated as the chosen point of negotiation between Sir P. Wodehouse and the Free State, and is now the capital of an independent district bearing its name.

Town on the 1st of March, and reported to the Colonial Minister his own firm belief that "the Kafir Chiefs were satisfied and grateful, their people happy and contented; that throughout the Colony confidence had been restored; trade, industry, and cultivation were active." All classes were elated, and that section of the Cape Town press which had done its utmost to blast the character of the Colonists and destroy that of Colonel Smith while engaged in the war of 1835 now suddenly turned round and actually proposed "the erection of an equestrian statue of Governor Sir Harry Smith in the capital of the Colony, as an expression to the world and to future ages of the sincere love of peace founded on justice and clemency, and to be maintained by wisdom and valour." This eulogy, deserved as it was, coming from such a source, utterly failed, and a statue there was not.

The Governor, like most other men of his temperament, had no inclination to be one of two Kings of Brentford with a single rose to smell at. As has been seen, immediately after his arrival he abolished the office of Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province, and indeed at that time ignored the very existence of an Eastern Province altogether. On the 4th of July, at an entertainment at Government-house, he gave full vent to his impressions, saying that although he thought the Eastern Province was equal to governing itself, the Colony ought to remain "one and indivisible," and he illustrated his opinion by the old woman's fable of the bundle of sticks. A few months after, and with more actual experience, his mind underwent a serious alteration, for on the 14th June, 1851, he thus advised the Secretary of State:—"Previously to my departure from England I strongly advanced my opinion that the time had not arrived when it would be advisable to grant to the Eastern Province a Government separate from that of the West. . . . Recent circumstances induce me at once and decidedly to change that opinion, and recommend a separate and distinct Government for the Eastern Province."

The viands of the grand banquet adverted to were scarcely cold when disturbances beyond the Orange River broke out, dispelling the dream of repose in which His Excellency indulged, and he was called suddenly to meet insurrection and war 1,000 miles away from his residence in the capital. The Dutch emigrants, then British subjects, under a farmer named Pretorius, had assumed independence, determined upon resistance, and tried to enlist the sympathies of the Dutch Colonists in the Northern districts, where they had many relatives and friends; but fortunately, through precautions taken on the spot, this failed, and a Proclamation denouncing the revolt, and offering £1,000 for the apprehension of the leader, was issued on the 22nd of July. On the 27th August the passage of the troops, headed by the Governor, who had crossed the Orange River, was disputed, and on the 29th, at Boomplaats, at which place the Boers had laid an ambush, a fight took place, when Sir Harry had a very narrow escape from the rifle of a farmer. The rebels were defeated, and Pretorius then retired with his followers to the north of the Vaal or Nu Gariep River, to form there the Transvaal Republic, to be the future Alsatia of the Cape Colony,* and not improbably a "thorn in the flesh" of the Cape Colony.

In the course of the year the Governor, sincerely desirous to promote the long-indulged wishes of the Colonists of both Provinces to participate in the advantages of representative institutions, improvised a plan for a Colonial Parliament, in which he said "the representation of the Eastern Province is *liberally* provided for;" but in doing this without consulting the inhabitants, as Sir H. Pottinger had done, and by recommending its sittings to be held in Cape Town, he committed a grievous error, and was warned by the Eastern people that "the whole scheme of representative legislation would prove

* The suppression of this revolt cost £10,378, but a war tax imposed upon the farmers contributed £9,262, and fines levied upon the rebels produced £1,550.

abortive ; that the welfare of the Province would be left in the hands and under the control of a Cape majority which would be ruinous to its interests, and only serve to widen the breach which already separates the East from the West." The local press thus shadowed out the inevitable result :—" Differing from the Cape in many particulars, as in soil, climate, and productions, with a country capable of sustaining an immense population, we are yet to be saddled with a *Cape* Representative Assembly, divested of none of its local prejudices. Will such an Assembly be disposed to turn its attention to the improvement and defence of this end of the Colony, by pouring in a continued stream of immigration to populate our almost boundless territory ? Will the public works and public improvements of this Province receive any larger share of attention than they do at present ? All these, and many other questions of a similar nature might be safely answered in the negative. The only existing barrier, inefficient as it is, is about to be removed, and with the cessation of the legislative functions of our Governor and Council the interests of this Province will be left in the hands and *under the control of a Cape majority*. The Eastern division will sink into comparative insignificance. All its boundless resources, yet unopened to civilization, will remain buried in hopeless oblivion. The errors of able Statesmen in England, unacquainted with local peculiarities, have been productive of much evil to this Colony. What then may we expect from a Cape Legislature, wanting these abilities and equally unacquainted with our local peculiarities and the difficulties of our Border policy ? Never, we aver, was there in any country a greater necessity than exists at the present time for a resident Legislature for Frontier affairs, composed of experienced men interested in the welfare of the Province. Such a body would meet with the universal support of the inhabitants, would enlist their affections, and would, we firmly believe, present the best guarantee that could be obtained against the recurrence of that fearful and ruinous

scourge, a Kafir war, which is falsely represented in the Councils of the British nation to be regarded as a popular event in this Province."

Embodying these views, the inhabitants of the Province addressed Her Majesty in Council, in the month of December, showing that "the very nearest point of the Eastern Province is above 500 miles from the present capital of the Colony, while its most distant portions, those that require the more immediate supervision, exceed 800 miles; that all the wars with the native tribes, so troublesome to the Mother Country and ruinous to themselves, would have been averted by an independent Government and a Representative Assembly on the spot; that the respective Lieutenant-Governors have failed in usefulness from being subservient to a supreme authority in Cape Town;" and they prayed that a *perfect separation* should be accorded or a *removal* of the Cape Town Government should take place.

Among the other events of this year should be chronicled the commencement of a lighthouse on the most southerly and dangerous point of Africa, the real Cape of Good Hope, where doubtless ships innumerable have been lost for a period extending over three centuries, leaving neither trace of their disappearance nor record of the fate and last moments of their miserable inmates. On this reef, known as "Agulhas," the constant dread of mariners, a substantial structure was raised, and with wonderful celerity completed within the year, and became available by the 1st March following, when it was first lighted.

The United Church of England and Ireland, so long neglected in this remote dependency of the Crown, now took its legitimate position by the appointment of its first Bishop—Dr. Gray—and Cape Town became ecclesiastically "a Cathedral City." The circumstance was hailed at the time with intense delight by the members of that communion; subsequent events, however, have somewhat chilled the first ardour, giving rise to apprehensions of a deplorable schism.

Two acts of significant importance, highly creditable to the existing Government of the Colony, received His Excellency's approval. The one on June 27, abolishing the Stamp Duty on newspapers; the other in December, the removal of the long-standing disgrace to the Statute Book of the Colony, by allowing public meetings of the inhabitants to be held without the degradation of asking leave.

SECTION XIII.

1849—Quiet disturbed—Anti-Convict Agitation—Arrival of convict ship *Neptune*—Attempt to divert the agitation into a political movement for Parliamentary Government prematurely—Cape Reign of Terror—Convict ship sent away—Discovery of Lake N'Gami. 1850—Lords of Privy Council report on Cape Constitution—A new Kafir Prophet, Umlangeni, appears.

1849.—The departed year terminated in repose, and with a prospect of continuance. On the north and eastern frontiers order appeared to have been restored, and within the Colony reliance upon the Government, under its active and popular Chief Magistrate, had fully returned; but Africa which is always offering something new! (*Africa semper aliquid novi offert*)—and South Africa especially—something untoward, giving evidence of the truth of the Greek and Roman maxim, for a more novel or unexpected element of strife could not have been introduced than that which, while it imparted a glorious celebrity to the Cape, was not unattended by discord and peril.

On the 10th September, 1848, an Order in Council had been issued, empowering the Secretary of State to transport convicts to certain Colonies of the Empire, and it occurred to that high functionary—not in his wisdom—that he might use the Southern Peninsula for a place of deportation, as the inhabitants were clamouring for labour. No sooner, however, were the intentions of the Home Government made known, than the indignation of the people throughout the length and breadth of the Colony was aroused, and all classes, without exception, determined to resist the contagion consequent on the introduction of such a fatal leaven.

Cape Town, to its honour, took the initiative, and at a meeting held on the 19th May, passed a string of

temperate resolutions in which the Home Government was reminded that already, in 1842, objections had been made to receive even a body of "juvenile delinquents;" that the Government had respected that feeling and acknowledged the right and privilege of the Colonists to be consulted before any similar measure should be enforced; that so late, indeed, as the previous month of November, the Governor had, at the instance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, desired to be informed of the opinions of the Colonists as to sending "Ticket-of-leave Convicts," when they declined the proposal; and that notwithstanding this the Minister, with a perfect knowledge of their rejection, had ordered it to be enforced on the plea of the cost of the recent war, "which was," the Colonists justly affirmed, "neither caused, conducted, or in any way controlled by the Colonists, whose only share in its protracted miseries was in their loss of time, property, and blood." They then pledged their faith to each other not to employ, admit into their establishments, work, or associate with, felons sent to the Colony, and requested the Governor to prevent their debarkation, to suspend the publication of any Order in Council on the subject, and promised to indemnify him for any expenses incurred by the prohibition to land.

So far the opposition was holy and untainted, and the language employed, although strong, received the approval of every true-hearted Colonist who had any respect for himself, for his family, and the welfare of the country of his birth or adoption. Symptoms, however, of an inclination to resort to more stringent measures by an impetuous portion of the community, displayed themselves at an early period, and one of the first objections taken was that a gentleman should have been invited to preside at Anti-Convict meetings because "he filled the unpopular position of an unofficial member of the Legislative Council," a latent proof that there was intention to mix up a political question with that of convictism; besides this, any person recommending caution and a prudential although firm resistance began to be scowled upon and

branded as a friend to its introduction, an enemy in disguise to the popular will. On the 4th July a monster meeting was held in the Western metropolis on the Grand Parade, the "Champ de Mars" of Cape Town, where fully 7,000 persons were collected in a furious storm as violent as the anger evoked by the British Minister's injudicious proceeding, when passion usurped the place of dignified resentment. Moderate men got alarmed at the exasperated state of the public mind, and withdrew from the violent counsels of the "Anti-Convict Association" which had been formed, although determined to withstand the obnoxious measure, believing that opposition ought to be tempered by discretion.

At length the "Plague Ship" made its appearance. On the 19th September the *Neptune* cast her anchor in the waters of Simon's Bay. She was freighted with Irish convicts who had been transported to Bermuda (the vexed Bermoothes) for offences committed during the pressure of the Potato Famine in Ireland, and who, from the nature of the climate of the mid-Atlantic, were entirely unfitted to undergo the discipline and labour there enforced. Her arrival lashed the waves of the Colonial wrath, which had been most industriously "nursed" for months, up to perfect fury; and then began (likening small things to great) the Cape "Reign of Terror."

Advantage was now subtly taken of the arrival of Letters Patent for a Constitution received the previous month, and it was fancied by the Democratic Party that if the convict excitement could be maintained it would enable them to force the extreme views they held on certain organic changes they wished to make in the Government, and that therefore the present was a favourable opportunity not to be thrown away. The Executive, on the contrary, conceiving a time of disturbance was inopportune for the discussion of so grave a subject, counselled delay until quiet could be restored. Angry debates ensued in the Legislative Council, when four members more patriotic (?) than prudent, because the Executive members of Government would not give

precedence to the Constitution question over the more pressing business of the day, abruptly—some said factiously—withdrew, concocted a plan of representation of their own in certain celebrated “Sixteen Articles,” sent them with a deputation to England, where the articles were unceremoniously pigeon-holed; and the deputation—not even, like a more recent one, invited by the Minister to a repast—met, *au contraire*, with a repulse. This untoward abdication by the four members fanned the flame of discontent. The pledge, originally confined to the non-employment of convict labour, was strained to a not virtuous excess. Government contractors—butchers, bakers, and candle-stick makers—in short, all classes—were forbidden by the “Anti-Convict Association” to supply Her Majesty’s Military, Naval, and Civil servants as long as the question remained unsatisfied. It was even extended to those who were “suspect” of lukewarmness on the subject, and was now carried to the case of the unfortunates on board the *Neptune*, whose wretched inmates were attempted to be deprived even of supplies of fresh provisions of any kind, the Association hoping to force the Governor to send the ship elsewhere at once.

Some few courageous and determined men braved the fury of the storm and furnished supplies to the denounced, and although the Governor had pledged his word the convicts should not be landed, these were stigmatized and marked out as objects of outrage, and such was the state of feeling generated in the quarrel that parties on both sides were roughly handled and their property injured during “The Terror.” Cape Town, the focus of the political cyclone, suffered more severely than any other locality. All business was stopped, shops and offices closed, the portrait of one of the oldest and most respected merchants of Cape Town (Mr. Ebden, who had been chairman of the meetings), which decorated the walls of the Commercial Exchange, was torn down and defaced because he refused to sanction the extreme dictates of the Anti-Convict “Convention.” A number of persons repudiating these oppressive proceedings, in self-defence

now appealed to the Governor for protection, which in a Proclamation of the 12th October he acknowledged he "had the power to afford ; but his repugnance to employ Military force in any shape, except against the Queen's avowed enemies, is so great as to induce him only to keep himself prepared for an extremity, however deplorable." In the same document, which was widely disseminated, he announced he had made arrangements to victual the Army, Navy, and even private families who had been refused supplies by their tradesmen, and he gave the public the assuring notice that he had received a private note from the Minister that the design of making the Cape a Penal Settlement had been abandoned, and that before long the *Neptune*, with her passengers, would be ordered away.

This announcement did not even act as a sedative. On the 16th of October the state of disturbance was so intense that His Excellency was obliged to prohibit the assemblage of mobs, crowds, or meetings in the metropolis—a fitting rebuke to a community claiming free institutions and the enjoyment of liberty, a people who only last year he had released from the obligations of even asking leave of the local Magistrate before they could come together to discuss a public question, and who now, the cup at the lip, had to wait five weary years for the coveted Constitution. The Governor at this time addressed the soldiers on "their forbearance, under a diabolical attempt to starve them, their wives and children, as well as the Naval service ;" and it is indeed a matter of congratulation that violence on the part of the citizens, goaded on by wild and visionary politicians, did not beget violence on the part of the Military. As it was, the quarrel embittered the peace of many families, severed many firm friendships, leaving wounds long to cicatrize and difficult to heal.

In anticipation, so as to close a painful subject, it may be added that on the 13th February, 1850, the final order of revocation was received. The unfortunate *Neptune* left Simon's Bay on the 20th, after a five months' detention, and the Anti-Convict Association on the 14th was dis-

solved, congratulating itself on "its self-control," and most generously, yet dictatorially, announcing "that the usual connection and intercourse with Government Departments may at once be resumed."

If it were not for the illegality of the acts committed, and the discovery—if not then first made, at least first openly stated by Home authority—that the British Government did not covet the possession of the Colony beyond the localities of Table and Simon's Bays for Imperial purposes, and hinting at the probable abandonment of all else, some amusement might be derived from the incidents of a struggle commenced in a spirit of just resentment, but allowed to be degraded into a political squabble. The English papers denominated the *émeute* "The Cape Rebellion," predicting "the great historic drama will degenerate into a farce." It would perhaps be diverting to catalogue the martyrs burnt to death—in effigy—those who were devoted to the gibbet in like sort, what respectable and other names were pilloried, who acquired and who lost character; to shut oneself up with that brave senator who is said (of course in jest) to have taken refuge for a whole night in his carriage because, coming home from Council he smelled roast pig, and trembled for his own possible cremation; to follow at the heels of that plucky member, and observe his countenance who, despite his known courage, was obliged to flee and seek safety in his vessel at the time tossing in Table Bay. It is even now entertaining to look back over the caricatures, the pasquinades, and poetry of the date; for both factions in their fury found leisure to woo the muses. The pencil portrayed hanging, hungry, angry men crowded into an Inferno as dark as Dante's, with well-known visages; but no limner peopled a Paradise with the actors of the time. The pen of the ready writer gave the public "Letters from Bill to John Smith," "A new version of Virgil," "The Troubadour," "A private letter from Sir Harry Smith to Earl Grey," "A pitiful ballad of Government House," "Foreign and Colonial Policy," and others too numerous to mention, redolent of Parnassus, the whole equally

elegant, classical, veracious, and affecting, worthy to be embalmed in amber, or at least secured in a scrap-book.

Few other matters offer themselves this year—the great conflict, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up everything besides—except that South African geographical science boasts one achievement in the discovery of the Lake N'Gami, known to exist, but its *locale* long speculated upon, yet never before seen by white men until Dr. Livingstone and Messrs. Oswell and Murray visited it on the 1st of August. It was reached from the Cape Colony *via* Kuruman and Kolobeng, and subsequently by Mr. Andersson from the Western Coast in 1853. But the discovery of the Zambezi in 1851, and the magnificent Falls of Victoria in 1853, threw the N'Gami into perfect shade, and expectancy was at first rather disappointed with regard to the size of this lake and its volume of water. As soon as the discovery was made known to the Governor, he, after consulting the Executive, communicated the fact to the Home authorities, and fearing the Emigrant Boers of the Transvaal might take formal possession of the lake and interfere with the natives as they had begun to do with travellers, suggested the extension of the provisions of the Acts 6 and 7 of William IV. to its latitude, and asked for instructions to guide his future conduct. In December he received a reply containing the decision of Earl Grey, to the effect that Government would not take possession, and to prevent the natives being molested “they should be *advised* to discontinue their internal wars with each other and establish some general authority amongst themselves, so as to command mutual defence against aggression” (no likely thing with savages always at variance); “that if they could and would do so, the British Government would assist them—it was the only policy to prevent their extermination, but that they are too remote for any armed protection from the British Government, to whom they can look for advice and protection.” The whole despatch* is worthy of perusal, amiable and interesting; but it appeals

* Despatch 12th November, 1850.

to moral influence alone, which is known to those conversant with the African character to be totally impracticable.

1850.—The Penal Settlement question disposed of, the Transgariepine Boers quieted, and comparative tranquillity secured on the Eastern Border, peace began to smile once more upon the country, and the Colonists found leisure as well as inclination to pursue their anxious project of establishing a popular form of Government, the Legislative Council, composed as it was of nominees only, having sunk into disrepute. “The Lords of the Committee of Council appointed to the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Possessions,” having had before them certain papers connected with this all-important subject, on the 30th January, 1850, presented to the Sovereign a long, interesting, and elaborate report. The principal points referring to the Colonists of the East were as follows:—“The members of the Cape Executive Council* having represented that there ought to be but *one* Legislature for the whole Colony, and that Cape Town should continue the seat of Government, the Lords are not disposed to dissent, but regret their inability to express their opinion that in the practical working of a representative Constitution at the Cape the geographical difficulties anticipated by Lord Stanley will not be experienced to a very serious degree. The formidable distance which separates much of the wide territory included within the Colony from the seat of Government must, we apprehend, greatly affect the value to the inhabitants of the remoter districts of the privilege of choosing their own representatives, more especially when the imperfection of the existing means of communication (greatly as these have of late been improved) is considered, and the fact that there are few, if any, of the residents in these districts who possess wealth and leisure enough to enable them to reside for any considerable time in each year in the capital. We have not long since, in reporting to your

* All residing in the Western Metropolis.

Majesty on the changes proposed in the Constitution of the Australian Colonies, had occasion to point out how intolerable a grievance it had been felt by the inhabitants of the district of Port Phillip to be placed under the authority of a Legislature meeting at Sydney.* We regarded this grievance as so real, that we had no hesitation in recommending the district in question should be erected into a distinct Government as the Province of Victoria.

“We can hardly doubt that the residents in the eastern and northern portions of the Cape Territory will experience similar inconvenience to that which has been felt by the inhabitants of Port Phillip, and we are only withheld from advising that the Colony should be divided by the circumstance that it appears to be the decided opinion of those whose local knowledge (?)† gives them better means of forming a sound judgment than ourselves, that the means do not exist of forming two separate Legislatures with advantage; and also by the consideration that hereafter, if the population of the Eastern district should be largely increased, the division may be at any time effected, upon the opinion of the Representative Legislature it should become desirable.”

The consequence of the secession of the four members already alluded to was the calling together of a new Legislative Council to take under review the proposed Constitution, when, after long deliberations, two of the Frontier members, Messrs. Cock and Godlonton, representing a large and most influential portion of the Eastern Province, on the 27th September recorded “Thirty-one Exceptions” to the forms of Government suggested in the Lords’ report, which had been approved and confirmed by the Privy Council, and subsequently by the Letters Patent of the 29th May. These exceptions were based upon the residence of the supreme Governor being more than 600 miles from an always dangerous frontier; the sitting of

* A distance of 450 miles, whereas between Cape Town and the extreme electoral division in the East it is 666 miles per post.

† *A non sequitur.*

a Parliament at the extreme end of the Colony, Cape Town; that the Letters Patent had failed to recognize and provide for the separation and independent control and administration of the local affairs of the Eastern Province, so constantly prayed for in the memorials, both to Her Majesty and the local Government at Cape Town; and they concluded:—"For these several reasons, and many others which might be advanced, we take exception to any form of representative Government holding its sittings in Cape Town, a position which, from its great distance, would render it highly improbable, if not altogether impracticable, that the Eastern Districts would be fairly represented, and thus their interests would be seriously damaged by an immense preponderance of Cape Town influence, and measures adopted which would impede their progress, and might place in jeopardy their political and social welfare."

While these matters were in progress, "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand" arose on the Kaffrarian horizon, where so far perfect were the arrangements for the maintenance of order under the new system, that they proved eminently successful in very considerably checking the inbred thievish propensities of the barbarians; but the hereditary Chiefs, especially Sandilli—although the rights and privileges with which their position invested them were duly respected—soon discovered they were still under restraint, for as there is no settled revenue for the maintenance of a Kafir Chief, and as he derives his support mainly from his share in the plunder acquired by the predatory incursions of his subjects, he necessarily has a direct interest in the prosecution of all such inroads; when the latter, therefore, are deprived of the means of plundering, the Royal exchequer immediately suffers, and the pride and dignity of the Chief become proportionately affected. Thus it was in Kafirland. Naturally jealous of the name and prestige he had inherited through a long line of ancestors, the Chief of the Gaikas had for some time past been sensible of the gradual decline of his power, wealth, and influence, and therefore meditated striking

another blow to re-establish his authority. So early as May this wily Chief had suborned a Kafir of Umkye's tribe—a famous witch and rain sorcerer, named Umlangeni—to invent and utter predictions against the existing order of things, and, among others, that he possessed the power to resist the English and would cause all the white population and their coloured adherents to die. Most of the Chiefs fostered this mischievous doctrine, and the “Seer,” was represented to be the same individual as the celebrated “Makanna” or “Lynx”* who led the great invasion of 1819 and then nearly carried the Military post of Graham's Town, so that even Kreli and Moshesh believed, or affected to give credit to his ravings. The proceedings of the impostor and fanatic were kept as secret as possible until the month of August, when they came to the knowledge of the Kaffrarian authorities, who at once interfered, ordering the removal of a large number of witchcraft poles Umlangeni had directed to be raised in one of the kraals as symbols of his pretensions, and where he held large nocturnal meetings in the bush. Being thus disturbed, after a very brief period he re-erected his magical masts, and continued to hold large assemblies of people from all parts of the country, over the population of which he had acquired an extraordinary influence, and who firmly believed in his possession of supernatural agency.

* Properly “Links,” Dutch for left-handed.

SECTION XIV.

1850 continued—Symptoms of Disturbance in British Kaffraria—The Governor at Cape Town, the Resident Authorities in Kafirland, as well as Missionaries, do not perceive Danger—The Governor misled, reports Home there is no Prospect of War—Meets the Chiefs—Sandilli refuses to appear at the Conference—Is deposed by the Governor, who returns to Cape Town, satisfied the crisis is passed—Recalled within eleven days by the state of the country—Sandilli outlawed—War of 1850 commences—Destruction of and Massacre at the Military Villages—Governor shut up in Fort Cox—Escapes—Kafir Police desert in bodies—Hermanus commences hostilities—Eastern Province overrun by Enemy—General panic and flight of inhabitants.

THE Governor, aroused by the suspicious indications in Kaffraria, after consulting his Executive, proceeded to the Frontier, and arrived at King William's Town on the 20th October—a step of urgent necessity, for the Border Colonists, better acquainted with the Kafir character and possessed of far superior means for gaining intelligence than the distant Government, or even the authorities in Kafirland or the resident Missionaries themselves, who acknowledged they had been kept in the dark, had been thrown into a state of reasonable panic (for which His Excellency at the time gave public notice they had no occasion*), and were retreating with their families and stock from the immediate proximity of danger. Still the resident Chief Commissioner clung to the notion that, although some of the principal Chiefs had made use of the Prophet to excite dissatisfaction,† “they had totally failed

* It was the fashion of the Cape Town Executive of the period to stigmatize the Eastern inhabitants as “alarmists,” but Earl Grey in a despatch dated 13th March, 1857, corrected this mischievous error. “The natural anxieties,” he wrote, “and alarm of the inhabitants of the Colony, and particularly its Eastern districts, have not always been attended to as much as they should have been.”

† So, to employ an inelegant phrase, was the Commissioner bamboozled by the Kafir Chiefs, that he reported on the 14th October “there was not the slightest appearance of an outbreak.”

in making any impression on the Kafirs," admitting at the same time there had been messengers sent to sound the distant tribes, and this had induced the Kafir servants to quit the Colony and their masters, this last fact being one of those significant indications giving rise to the just fears entertained by the Colonists of impending danger. The Governor, with fatal facility, gave credit to the views of his representative, and at once reported to the Colonial Minister he "need be under no apprehension of an outbreak."

Notwithstanding this impression His Excellency again visited the Frontier and held a great Council at King William's Town on the 26th October, when all the influential heads of the Gaika and T'Slambie tribes were present, except Sandilli and Seyolo, the absence of the first-named Chief being mendaciously attributed to an accident caused by a fall from his horse while *en route*. On the 29th, after several ineffectual attempts to procure an interview, the Governor summoned Sandilli to his presence through the medium of the Gaika Commissioner, with the object of affording him an opportunity of explaining his equivocal conduct, at the same time with the assurance there was no intention of seizing his person, or even that of Umlangeni, but with the timely warning that "were any affray to occur he would consider him the aggressor, and would drive all the inhabitants of British Kaffraria over the Kei, where Kreli's people would be eaten up by the refugees." The Gaika Commissioner delivered the "Governor's word" in person, when Sandilli denied any hostile intentions, pretended humility, but declined to appear, fearing, as he affected, the possibility of imprisonment. After all this forbearance no alternative was left but to proclaim the recusant Chief, but still British subject, as deposed from his rank and to meet present requirements installing the Gaika Commissioner, *pro tem.* to assume the government of the tribe, for, said His Excellency, "I have no reason to doubt their loyalty." This occurred on the 30th of October.

Of Sandilli's determination to fight, from the very first

there existed no doubt, as abundant evidence to prove it was in the hands of the authorities; but His Excellency, relying upon his own prestige and the benignity of the existing system—believing too, that the Kafir people justly appreciated it and had lost their characteristic devotion to the Chiefs—that (to use his own expression) “they were fully sensible of their improved position as the most civilized beings could be,” therefore felt satisfied that still everything would end well; but he was unfortunately mistaken. He had underrated the power and knew not the disposition of “Young Kafirland,” which was essentially different from that of 1835. Since the campaign of that year and his administration of the following, they had acquired by the recent hostilities greater experience, collected ample munitions in horses, fire-arms, and ammunition, and, notwithstanding their losses, had increased in numbers, courage, and ferocity.

The Governor left Kaffraria on the 8th of November, convinced in his own mind that the country was “in a state of perfect tranquillity,” that he had “thrown away” the prophet “by ridiculing him” who would dwindle into obscurity, that the deposition and degradation of the Great Chief was fully approved of by the others, that he would never be restored to his rank, and that “the crisis of an attempt to re-establish arbitrary power by the Chiefs has passed most happily.” Most unfortunately Umlangeni was the more reliable prophet!

The readiness with which His Excellency had repaired to the Frontier at such a juncture, and the belief he had soothed the irritability of the barbarians, awoke gratitude, and drew forth gratulations from all the Border districts.

In the numerous addresses on the occasion, among other topics was mooted the desire to obtain “their birthright” of Constitutional Government, but regretting that the concession should be granted in times of perilous excitement, that they disagreed with the small democratic party “which has so long impeded the Government,” contemned the late secession which prevented the passing of the supplies, and requesting him to represent to the Govern-

ment at home that while granting these undoubted privileges, they may be protected by a conservative system of franchise, and, steady to their convictions, asked that either a separate Government or a removal of the present seat of Government be conceded.

On the 24th of November His Excellency reached Cape Town, after an absence of a little more than a month, sincerely believing he had "succeeded in allaying an excitement extending from the sea to the Vaal," or northern branch of the Orange River. His dream of repose was, however, destined soon to be again disturbed, and within eleven days he was obliged to be once more upon the scene of his late labours. The "little hand" had assumed gigantic proportions and overshadowed the entire Frontier. Sir Harry Smith was to be pitied by all who loved him—and who that knew him did not?—when he had to write in bitter disappointment to the Secretary of State, on the 5th December, "The quiet I have reported in Kafirland, which I had so much and so just ground to anticipate, is not realized, and I start this evening."

At the commencement of the month the Kafirs were known to be slaughtering their cattle—sure sign of approaching hostilities. This preparation, begun with Kreli, was followed by Sandilli, and then by the people in general, and the fighting men commenced arming and stealing guns whenever an opportunity offered. Macomo left Fort Beaufort and his favourite canteen to join Sandilli in the bush. Seyolo and Pato professed peace, and the latter faithfully acted up to his pledge. The Gaikas were supposed to be divided in opinion, and the Governor, therefore, on his arrival wrote home, he perceived "little or no difficulty in restoring tranquillity, that the public expenditure would be very trifling, and that there was every reason to expect a barbarian war would be avoided." He reached King William's Town on the 9th December. On the following day he called upon all the loyal inhabitants upon the Frontier to enrol themselves in self-defence, and on the 14th held another meeting with the T'Slambie tribes, who promised fidelity.

The regular troops at this time which he had collected numbered 1,435 men, consisting of the 6th, 73rd, and 9th Regiments, and Cape Mounted Rifles. These he disposed of at the Kabousie Neck, at the formidable Amatolas, and at Fort Hare, all in three separate columns, to await orders and "avoid every act of positive hostility, unless Her Majesty's Gaika subjects themselves are the aggressors and assailants." On the 19th he held another meeting with about 3,000 of the Gaikas, and, after remonstrating, told them his terms of submission—the surrender of Sandilli and Anta, whose lives should be spared, the payment of all fines due for cattle lately rescued, guns to be given up, and a reward paid to any one who would inform against the kraals which had them in possession, or those kraals would be outlawed and eaten up. On the 20th, by Proclamation, he outlawed Sandilli and Anta, offering a reward for their apprehension; and the same day, to gratify the Kafirs, and at their own request, appointed, in the place of the Gaika Commissioner, Sutu (the great wife of the late Gaika and mother of Sandilli) Regent, appointing eight Councillors to assist her, to which nine more were added at her request and her own nomination.

On the morning of the 24th, a force of nearly 600 men, under Colonel Mackinnon, was dispatched in search of Sandilli, who it was expected would surrender himself or fly the country, with strict orders to molest no one on the march and not to fire unless attacked; but in passing through a narrow gorge of the Keiskamma Valley (the Booma Pass), where the men could only march in single file, they were vigorously set upon, and a severe fight ensued, with considerable loss on the British side; among them Dr. Stewart was shot dead and Capt. Bisset wounded. On the following day the troops were again assailed, Sandilli himself, with a large body of armed and mounted men, being visible; but he, with commendable discretion, kept out of the reach of gun-shot. In these two consecutive affairs the expedition lost: Killed, one officer and twenty-seven men; two officers and twelve men wounded; in all, forty-two put

hors de combat. But this was not the whole of the disaster, for in crossing the Debe Flats on their way to Fort White, the troops found the dead bodies of a sergeant and fourteen men, who, escorting a wagon, had been beset by the savages and overpowered. The fifth Kafir war within forty years, and the third since the establishment of the British Settlement of 1820, was now fairly commenced, and, with the exception of Pato and his people, a general insurrection of cis-Keian Kafirland. Fitting legacy of the retrocessive policy of 1836 !

While the troops were thus fighting their way from the Keiskamma to Fort White, the Kafirs disputing the whole passage, on this terrible Christmas Day another deed of foul treachery was enacting in the Military villages, of which the following account is given in the *Narrative of the Kafir War*, published at the time :—

“ On Christmas day the work of blood commenced. The villages of Johannesburg, Woburn, and Auckland were pillaged and burnt, and many of their male inhabitants cruelly butchered.

“ The Military village of Auckland is situated upon the boundary line near the sources of the Chumie. The Kafirs from the neighbouring kraals were in the constant habit of assisting the Settlers as daily labourers, and appear to have lived with them generally upon terms of friendship—some of the native tribes having the cattle of the Settlers in their charge. The kraals of those people were under a headman of Tyali's tribe, called Xaimpi. On the day of the massacre, the Kafirs were told to bring up the cattle near the village, which they did in the afternoon. At the time they were doing this, three men of the Cape Corps arrived at the village, with instructions for the guidance of the Settlers, in consequence of the affair betwixt the Kafirs and Colonel Mackinnon. The Settlers were assembled in the street listening to these instructions when the cattle were brought up by the Kafirs, who came in great numbers with guns and assegais, and sat down around the Settlers in the street, as they usually do in the villages. Xaimpi stood close to Mr. Munro, who read the letter which had been received. The weapons of the Settlers were all in their houses, as they did not anticipate any treachery. Suddenly, however, they were startled by hearing a sharp whistle from the said Xaimpi, and immediately the enemy sprang upon them with their assegais, murdering ten or fifteen men upon the spot. The remainder fled, and having secured their arms, took up a position in a dismantled clay building, where they remained for the night with the women and children, surrounded by the murderers. Here there were ultimately

butchered twenty-eight men, eleven of whom were married—the women and children being allowed with difficulty to go away next day, half naked, having been stripped of their garments, after witnessing the horrible fate of several of their husbands and fathers.

“At Woburn, the Kafirs appeared before breakfast. They commenced the work of death without much delay, and then reduced the village to ashes and blackened walls. There were no families residing at this village, and all that escaped consisted of Mr. Stevenson, the superintendent, and one or two Hottentot women. The Kafirs left the village in two divisions—the one proceeding to Johannesburg, and the other to Auckland. The number of men killed in the village of Woburn was sixteen.

“At Johannesburg the people had timely notice of the coming and intentions of the Kafirs, having seen the smoke of the burning houses of Woburn. When the enemy appeared upon the hills, those of the Settlers who escaped fled towards Alice, whilst those that were killed remained till it was too late to get out of the way. They were three in number.

“The amount of property belonging to the married men of the above-named village was £1,143 6s. 9d., all of which was destroyed by the hands of the ruthless savages.”

The following account, written by a soldier of the 91st Regiment, is deeply though painfully interesting, from the fact that the writer, before concluding it, fell by the hand of the enemy. He was killed in an engagement immediately afterwards—the unfinished manuscript being found on his person after his death, and forwarded to Graham's Town by a comrade. The black treachery of the savages is most vividly pictured in this artless narration:—

“Fort Hare, December 29, 1850.

“DEAR HAMILTON,—I would have written you sooner, but the enemy have been annoying us day and night. The fact is, I am knocked up for want of rest; but under the circumstances we cannot look for anything else. When we arrived here all the windows were built up and loop-holed—every one seemed to be prepared for the worst. Up to the 28th, all was pretty quiet, when word came that a corporal and two men that we sent to Fort Cox were found murdered on the way-side, and all the sheep gone—which turned out to be too true. They belonged to the 45th. The next word we got was, that the villages of Johannesburg and Woburn had been set on fire. From these two villages many of the people escaped. The most distressing occurrence happened with the people of a Military village called Auckland, nearly all of whom were old soldiers of the 91st Regiment. They were in here seeing their old acquaintances, and purchasing articles to enjoy them-

selves at Christmas. They went out and got their dinner ready, when a party of Kafirs that they were acquainted with, and others along with them, came in. They told the villagers that the soldiers and the Kafirs were fighting behind the hills, and that they wished to come there for protection. The poor innocent people consented to give them shelter, and they sat down in their houses. I have been speaking to one of the women that escaped; she told me that it was customary for the Kafirs to visit at Christmas, and as usual they came, so they gave them their dinner. She had as guests a petty Chief and five or six others. They all seemed to enjoy themselves, and appeared perfectly satisfied, when at a given signal they all rushed on and murdered the people who were sharing out everything that was in their power to make them comfortable. Nine men, and women and children (I cannot say how many of the two latter), fled to an old house. They got in, and then blockaded the house as well as possible. The Kafirs fired upon them; the defenders had a little ammunition, but it only lasted till next day. The Kafirs then set fire to the house. They killed all the men and boys, and allowed the women and little girls to escape. Some of the women dressed the boys in girls' clothes, who likewise escaped. A party of ours went out in the direction they were going, but the Kafirs came upon them, and they fought about nine miles."

The Governor, who had proceeded to Fort Cox, on the Keiskamma River, a commanding station which just before the present war the Kafir Chiefs had endeavoured to get removed, as the force stationed there kept too steady an eye upon their proceedings, was now here literally "shut up." The enemy beleaguered the Fort in vast numbers, and all intercourse and communication between him, the troops, and the Colonial authorities was completely cut off. Attempts to release him from his painful and ignominious imprisonment were made, and in one of these (on the 29th) the troops were forced to retreat in a hand-to-hand encounter, losing two officers and 20 men killed, with nearly as many wounded, and leaving one gun behind. On the following day the Governor, assuming the dress of a private, at the head of 250 Riflemen forced a "run-amuck" passage through the Kafirs under a heavy fire, and succeeded almost miraculously in reaching King William's Town.

In the interim fresh complications arose. On the 26th December one of the Kafir Police, having absented himself without leave, was placed in confinement, on which,

after a murderous assault, the whole of that body belonging to the Gaika clan, with horses, arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, deserted to their countrymen. On the 27th, a Kafir named Hermanus, who had been imprudently permitted to locate himself on a part of the Hottentot Settlement at Kat River called the Blinkwater ("The Shining River"), where he had formed a nest of thieves and vagabonds (a coloured Alsatia), and became the medium between the moody, ill-taught, and disaffected Hottentots of the Settlement with the Kafirs, commenced an open attack of plunder and bloodshed. On the 28th, the Kafir Police at Whittlesea also went over to their hostile countrymen; the whole number of this too-much-trusted force deserting being 365 in number; and emboldened by these defections and the character of the accession, the enemy now overran the Province itself.

The panic now became intense and fearful—the flight of the affrighted inhabitants from their quiet homesteads distressing to witness. For three whole days, from early dawn to late at night, the writer, then Chief Magistrate of the District of Uitenhage, beheld a sight never to be forgotten: hundreds upon hundreds of people hurrying with their wagons, the oxen often led by white women or young and tender girls, old men, females (often with babes), and exhausted, weeping children, shoeless and on foot. The sick, the infirm, haggard, hungry, foot-sore, and fatigued were followed by innumerable flocks of cattle and sheep, lowing and bleating for want of rest—for want of pasturage and water, crooning a melancholy complaint, as if they also understood the nature of the calamity; and thus it went on in one continuous procession of misery and terror. The roads to the town—one of the principal *rendezvous* of the fleeing masses—were rendered nearly impassable by the number of animals with which they were encumbered; and before the end of the month and year, the Kafir, with the scent of the vulture, was on the prey, and had lighted up his beacon fires on the summits of the Zuurberg, 150 miles within the Colony and from the centre of revolt.

SECTION XV.

1851—Hermanus attacks Fort Beaufort—His Death—Hottentot Rebellion at Missionary Stations at Kat River, Whittlesa, and Theopolis, and Massacre of Fingoes at latter place—Rebels emboldened attack Forts—Burghers called out—Causes of Failure—Western Burghers arrive—Enemy again invades the Colony—His successes and alarming attitude—Governor applies Home for more Troops—Waterkloof—Death of Colonel Fordyce there—Moshesh and Kreli—Movements against the latter Chief—Earl Grey complains that the War is protracted—Governor's Explanations. 1852—Successful Expeditions on North and South-East against Enemy—A Truce—Hostilities recommence—Disasters—Captain Lake-man's Force—Macomo rooted out—Loss of the *Birkenhead* with reinforcements on board—Sir Harry Smith recalled—Reasons for—Extenuation—Character of the removed Governor—His Reception in England.

1851—A large number of the misled Hottentots of the Kat River Settlement and elsewhere now coalesced with the Kafirs,* committing numerous acts of violence on the farmers and their habitations. With the aid of some of these people, on the 7th January, the Gonnah Kafir Chief Hermanus made an unusually bold and desperate attempt to surprise the strong Military Post of Fort Beaufort, but after a short and sharp struggle were defeated, in which they lost fifty men, including the arch-traitor Hermanus himself.

To follow up incident after incident of this terrible, long protracted, and unsatisfactory war would be difficult, and encumber the space devoted to these Annals. The reader

* The state of the Kat River at this time is described by some of the few loyal people there in these words:—"Nearly all the inhabitants were secretly aiding and abetting their rebel friends and relatives; those who did not so openly, taking no measures on the side of law or loyalty." (See Petitions from district of Stockenstrom, signed by 96 inhabitants, presented to Cape Parliament; *vide* also Sir H. Pottinger's report, 2nd November, 1847, upon the then state of this Settlement, one "which on my arrival in the colony had been held out as a pattern for all others and spoken of as one of the bulwarks for general protection and defence," but "is a picture of gross mismanagement, sloth, filth, and human degradation.")

must therefore be pleased to content himself with little more than an outline showing the more salient points alone.

Our "Great Rebellion," which hatched on the 26th January, had its nest in the Kat River Settlement, being incubated there by Kafir craft and Hottentot frailty. This Settlement had, as before mentioned, been created with the most benevolent intentions, but with a fatal miscalculation of the nature of the people, who, without any admixture of the white and more civilized element, were segregated in one compact mass and a state of perfect isolation. They were besides too long deprived of the presence of a European Magistrate, and their management, temporal and spiritual, entrusted to imprudent teachers connected to them by marriage, or half-castes, who kept up a spurious and dangerous notion of "Hottentot nationality," with not unfrequent reminders of territorial claims and long extinguished grievances; besides which, considering the flexible character of the race, they had been located too near the Kafir boundary, under the erroneous impression the Hottentot would never join with their "ancient enemies," when in fact, and it ought to have been remembered, the Gonaqua Kafirs of the Upper Keiskamma were half Hottentot, and were "out in the '95" along with the marauders of that day. The country granted to these people is certainly the finest tract the whole Colony can boast, possessing an unfailing supply of water, being intersected by numerous streams capable of being diverted for irrigation, abundance of pasturage, and splendid timber forests attractive of rain and moisture; a climate for salubrity unrivalled, scenery exquisitely beautiful, a market almost at their doors (at Fort Beaufort). Secure from oppression, with all the means for contentment, the inhabitants of these happy valleys, where "all but the spirit of man was Divine," had no excuse for complaint, still less for the treason into which they fell.

In 1854 a Special Commission was appointed to institute inquiry into the causes and extent of the rebellion, the Commissioners being C. M. Owen, J. W. Ebdon, and H.

Calderwood, Esquires, the chief result of which was, according to their report (24th July), that a large proportion of the Hottentots had joined in the revolt of 1851. Many others sympathized with them; many probably loyal participated in the plunder, and held communion with the rebels, but were not prepared to declare themselves openly. At one time 1,200 had joined the ranks of the enemy. It appears that no charge could be brought against the Government or white inhabitants of the Frontier; and that nothing appeared against the Missionaries, but that the two Reads, teachers there, had been injudicious in their dealing with alleged grievances of the Hottentots, leading them to believe they were oppressed.

Except for an accident this territory would have been occupied by a hardy race of loyal and industrious men, fitted by nature to its lovely glens, winding waters, and temperate climate, its often snow-clad mountains like those of their native land. A party of five hundred Highlanders, "with the fire of old Scotia and the garb of old Gaul," under Captain Grant, embarked at the Clyde on board the *Alceon*, transport, in 1820, for this region, where they were to found "New Edinburgh." On the 13th of October of the same year, near the Equator, the unfortunate ship took fire, when out of 140 emigrants only sixteen souls escaped, and being providentially picked up by a vessel homeward bound, returned to Scotland. How different would have been the subsequent history of this lovely spot had these people taken up their abode; but "the ways of Providence are not the ways of man."

It has already been related how near the Hottentots of the Kat were in joining the Kafirs in 1834. In 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger reported that "they had been armed without the least control, and were in a state of total disorganization bordering on rebellion," and now from the same place,* instituted in order to become "a breakwater

* HOTTENTOT LOYALTY.—The following chain of facts is worthy of preservation for the use of future historians of the Cape. In 1795 the Hottentots were found in league with the Kafirs, and, in true St. Domingo fashion, pitilessly destroyed their former employers, with an

against an exasperated and powerful enemy in the most vulnerable and dangerous part of the Frontier," proceeded the spirit of disaffection to debauch the hitherto loyal inhabitants of the Moravian Missionary Institution of Shiloh in the Klipplaatz River, near the town of Whittlesea.

Here the Hottentot residents, instigated by the denizens of that "Soil of Rebellion and Faction," as Governor Cathcart subsequent described it, joined in a secret confederacy with the neighbouring Tambookies, rose in arms, and on the 31st January the worthy Missionaries were forced to abandon their beautiful, luxuriant, and thriving station, only seven of their people being found willing to join their exile, the remainder going over in a body to the enemy. The Rev. Mr. Bonatz, their venerable teacher, said, in the bitterness of despair, on this deplorable occasion, "I have taken a farewell of my mission, after a residence of nineteen years. I find my labour lost; not

atrocious, it was remarked, more ruthlessly severe than that of their colleagues. These rebels were then collected by the celebrated Dr. Van der Kemp at Graaff-Reinet, drafted to Botha's place, Algoa Bay, and subsequently settled at that "model" institution, Bethelsdorp. A swarm from the Bethelsdorp hive subsequently alighted at Theopolis—notorious for its rebellion and the treacherous murder of the Fingo inhabitants—and Kat River was partly peopled from Theopolis in or about 1829. In the war of 1834-5 the Missionaries denounced the seditions going on there. Letters extant from the Rev. Messrs. Chalmers and Thompson attest the fact, as well as the Magistrate, Captain Armstrong, and the Missionaries Young and Bennie; and the Kafir Chiefs Macomo, Tyali, Eno, Botman, and Guaya declared the words of the Hottentots of Kat River "set us on fire." In 1838 the murderers of Lieut. Crow implicated in their dying confession the Hottentots of Kat River; and, filling up the measure of their guilt, this people broke out openly in 1850 to "drive the English into the sea"—that sea as sung in a sweet lyric called "Makanna's Gathering" (spirited but mischievous), by Pringle:—

"To sweep the white men from the earth,
And drive them to the sea:
The sea, which heaved them up at first
For Amakosa's curse and bane,
Howls for the progeny she nurs'd,
To swallow them again."

above four Kafirs and three Fingoes go with me ; the rest of my congregation have taken their portion deliberately with the rebels, and I have no hope of the conversion of these people." Another Missionary stated " the Hottentot population at Shiloh to be about seventy, out of which about thirty took the sacrament late in December." When the news of the defection at the Kat reached Shiloh the congregation met in the church to declare the part they would take ; and, with uplifted hands, they all swore before their Creator, they would die in defence of their religion and the Government. When the Missionaries left, they solemnly and symbolically took water and washed their hands, saying to the Hottentots, " We are free from your blood."

The evil demon of ingratitude and insurrection was not satisfied with its triumphs in these places devoted to religious instruction and social improvement. At Theopolis, a London Missionary Station in Albany, about twenty-five miles from Graham's Town, situated on one of the finest farms in that beautiful district, in extent some 8,300 acres, disaffection, instigated by the people of the Kat, appeared about the same time. Rumours of the existence of bad feeling* were abroad at an early date of this year, when such of the people as could be found were disarmed by the authorities ; but this precaution did not allay the latent discontent, for on the 31st of May—a Sunday morning—about day-break, after being visited by some of the Kat River people and Cape Mounted Rifle Corps, who began to desert in bodies as early as February, the Hottentots of the Institution rose, and in cold blood, without any intimation, murdered—by shooting them down as they came out of their huts—ten of the Fingo inhabitants, and then, loading up their wagons with spoil,

* The seeds of discontent had been sown at this place many years before (1835), when a public charge was preferred against the Colonial Government for having robbed the Institution of some of its lands—a slander disproved in 1836, the reverse being the case, as shown in a pamphlet then published, entitled " Some reasons, &c.," in which a diagram exposes the inaccuracy of the accusation.

deserted the place, forming a rebel camp in a savanna called the "Karra," at a short distance from the scene of their treachery.*

For the first four months of the year the Baal-fires of war lighted up the land from the Orange River to the sea, from the Amatolas to the Sundays River. To the northward, in an attack upon the Tambookies at the Wittebergen, the Colonial party was obliged to retire with loss, and a chance escape from death of the Civil Commissioner of Albert. The town of Whittlesea, defended by Captain Tylden and Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker, had to sustain no less than twelve assaults, and a continued series of actions, some petty and some severe, occurred in this remote part of the Colony, including one on the Imvani, on the 14th April,† where a body of some 4,000 of Kreli's, Mapassa's, and Tyopo's braves lost a number of cattle, were taught a salutary lesson, and frightened the first-

* There is little doubt that all the Missionary Institutions in the Eastern Province and elsewhere had been tampered with. Many of the Hottentot levies passing through Uitenhage to the front were very insubordinate, and used seditious language. In one instance it was feared recourse must be had to physical force to disarm a very mutinous party, who, for fear of their bad example, the authorities sent back. At one of the stations—Bethelsdorp, the Model Institution—the people committed an overt act by assaulting a farm-house, calling in the neighbourhood to the inmates, "Come out, we are rebels." Some of these were tried for treason, but the indictments, badly drawn, broke down, and a verdict of not guilty was returned through an *alibi* having been sworn to; but the witness on his death-bed acknowledged his perjury.—J. C. C.

† The defence of Whittlesea was the turning point of the war; it cowed Kreli, covered the Wittebergen, saved the Cradock District, and most of the Frontier divisions or counties, closing all access to the hiding places in the Amatola range of bush, cave, and mountain. The battle of the Imvani was the great fight of Capt. Tylden. After the Kafirs had routed the Boers just previously, they came on in this encounter in three divisions so as to environ Tylden's Commando, who, for the purpose of concentrating his line of force, feigned retreat. The ruse and strategic movement succeeded; the foe, deceived, pursued him *pêle mêle*; they were then charged, and left above 150 dead upon the field, and were completely discomfited. The moral effect of the victory was immense.

named Chief, who was simulating neutrality. Engagements also took place so far West as between the Bushmans and Sundays Rivers, while to the East the rebels had the unparalleled hardihood to attack Fort Hare, Fort Brown, and Fort Armstrong, of which last-named place they had taken possession, but were "shelled" out on the 22nd of February by Major-General Somerset, with a severe loss of life on the part of the Hottentots.

Other encounters took place; the Governor engaged the enemy at the Keiskamma, inflicting considerable damage upon the enemy. The Chief Seyolo was defeated near King William's Town. At the Amatolas demonstrations were made in which several affairs took place, the Kafirs losing both cattle and men; but still it was only by extraordinary efforts, after harassing and incessant patrols, skirmishes, and watching, that the Frontier Districts were preserved from utter destruction; indeed their fate trembled in the balance.

On His Excellency's escape from Fort Cox and arrival at King William's Town he had at once called out the Eastern Burghers *en masse*; but they dared not respond to the summons, for, surrounded by Hottentot treachery, several instances occurring amongst their domestic servants, they felt they could not trust their families and property to such uncertain protection. He then appealed to the Western Yeomanry; but they were dissuaded by a malcontent Press of Cape Town, the cry being raised that this was a "Governor's war," or "a Settler's war." The members of the Executive Council, however, at length collected a goodly number of Western levies, and these, with the Burghers, Fingoes, Eastern Contingents, and troops* already in the field, induced the Governor to contemplate offensive operations. His force on the 1st May amounting to some 9,500 men, still he asked from home for two more regiments, so that he "might be in a position to inflict that punishment upon the savages which their unprovoked treachery so well deserves."

* Troops—6th Foot, Royal Artillery, Royal Engineers, 45th, 73rd, and 91st Regiments, and Cape Mounted Rifles.

From May to about the end of August, after incessant series of operations, *selon les regles militaires*, made with large bodies of men, under officers of acknowledged ability and unimpeachable courage, little beyond worrying the enemy resulted. Kafirs and a few Hottentot rebels bit the dust; some cattle were captured, but the bulk had been driven over and beyond the Kei to the safe keeping of the fast and loose Krel; while within the Colonial boundary proper, ravages continued ceaselessly. Transport and other wagons were attacked, and taken on the high roads by rebels, even within the vicinage of Graham's Town; and the only redeeming event of the time was an assault by Major-General Somerset, in June, on the camp of the Theopolis rebels, and their dispersion, where a Hottentot was taken who informed his captors that, as was pretty well known, the rebels had been in communication with all the Missionary Institutions and that they were determined to kill, burn, and destroy without remorse in the cause of *their nation*.

Disturbed in the Amatolas by the late demonstrations, the enemy retaliated by again invading the Colony, in the first instance overrunning the district of Somerset, where within six weeks they carried off 5,000 cattle, 20,000 sheep, and 3,000 horses, and in which district, since the commencement of the war to date, 200 farm-houses had been burnt. They then turned their attention to Lower Albany and Olifant's Hoek, sweeping off numerous herds of cattle and other stock, firing many houses, and causing another panic. The Kafir servants, too, belonging to tribes hitherto considered friendly-disposed, now deserted in numbers, witnessing, as they could not help, the uncontrolled success of their warlike countrymen and the palpable weakness of the Government. At this time the public roads became unsafe for travellers, unless they went in strong and armed parties.

To arrest the desperate state to which the country had been reduced, it was necessary to detach a considerable portion of the forces employed in watching the Amatolas, by which the excesses within the Border were somewhat

checked. It was then requisite to patrol the country between King William's Town and Fort Willshire, to disperse the banditti infesting the Koromoo forests, and dislodge those in the jungle of the Great Fish River; and these objects were effected with some temporary success, at the cost, however, of serious loss of life. On the 30th August, with a force of above 400 men on a reconnoitre towards Fort Willshire, fifteen men were wounded, two of whom died; on the 8th September, before the Koromoo Bush, with 550 infantry and 103 mounted men, fourteen were killed and fourteen wounded; and at the Great Fish River Bush, with 1,250 men, in three encounters, on the 9th, 10th, and 15th, there were twenty-nine killed and forty-one men wounded, of which last three died; and as soon as the troops withdrew from these last scenes of action, the enemy, although disturbed for the time, re-occupied their strongholds, from which it was found prudent not then to disturb them.

These matters were duly reported by the Governor to the Colonial Minister on the 15th October, and that the enemy now held the strong ground of Kat River and Blinkwater with their almost impenetrable forests—in fact, were in the ascendant. His Excellency, who had now, besides the troops already named, received the accession of the 2nd Queen's, the 74th Regiment, and the Lancers, still found himself unable to cope with the combined numbers of the enemy, their guerilla activity, and superior local knowledge; and with the expectancy that Faku might, and Kreli was about to, join the hostile confederacy; with doubts also as to the fidelity of Moshesh, who was evidently watching the proverbial “way the cat jumps” in the Colony, from whence he boasted, “I receive my reports every week;” disappointed of the aid of a body of Zulus from Natal; hampered at the same time by a most distressing drought, and “viewing the vast extent of hostility which prevails in our South African territories, the probability that this hostile feeling of the black towards the white may spread still more widely,” His Excellency now asked the Minister to add to his present

force 400 English recruits for the Cape Corps and two additional regiments of infantry with as little delay as possible."

A vigorous attempt was, however, made to "clean out" the difficult country between the Koonap and the Kat, containing the dangerous defiles of the Blinkwater, Fuller's Hock, and Waterkloof, which form the western buttresses of the formidable Amatolas. Here, from the 12th to the 19th, spirited onsets were made with 1,200 men, and although chasing the Kafir from one kloof to another the loss was six killed and twenty-six wounded; but this fearful sacrifice was supposed to have been compensated by the complete clearance of the Waterkloof. On the first of November operations were ordered to be recommenced in consequence of the successes in the last-named locality, and on the 6th and 7th another assault was made in the same direction, when, notwithstanding the late repulses, the Kafirs showed they held pertinaciously the advantage of these strong natural rock and forest entrenchments, amid which misfortune still dogged the steps of our brave troops; for in the two days ten men were killed in the Waterkloof, including a warrior the command could ill spare, the gallant and amiable Lieut.-Colonel Fordyce, of the 73rd,* and another officer, with twenty-four wounded. Under all these disheartening circumstances, it is not to be supposed that no advantage was gained over the foe, for he also sustained vast damage; numbers of Kafir and Hottentot rebels had reaped the full reward of their crimes in every encounter, although not to the extent very injudiciously exaggerated at the time. Human life, however, among such a people is unregarded, and as they managed to secure the great object and trophy of war, their immense booty, the real victory remained on their side.

To the two powerful Chiefs, Moshesh in Basutoland and Krela, it was now requisite to turn attention. The former

* The last words of the Colonel were, "Take care of my regiment." How they contrast with that of "*Tête d'Armée*" of "the last single captive to millions at war" at St. Helena. "Duty" in one case, "Glory" in the other.

was reported to be directly or indirectly implicated in the disturbances. He was suspected of furnishing the Kafirs with ammunition; his people had been detected among the combatants, and he was evidently coquetting with both belligerents. But against Kreli, "the great promoter of hostilities," it was considered the first movement should be made. That Chief, long temporizing, had now ceased to dissemble his warlike proclivities; and an expedition was therefore dispatched of about 2,000 men, with a month's provisions, to the Imvani River, a part of the Upper Kei, under Major-General Somerset, and another of 1,000 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, to the Lower Kei, nearly opposite the Missionary Institution of Butterworth, on which a combined movement was intended to be made; but this was given up for a time for fear of compromising the safety of the missionaries and traders, who held a very precarious tenure of life and property under the questionable mercies of the savage Chief. The result of these movements will be seen farther on.

Upon the 12th December the Governor received despatches from Earl Grey, dated the preceding October, in which that statesman complains, "It is with great concern I have received intelligence that much less progress has been made than I hoped towards the subjugation of the Kafirs, and that they had inflicted such severe injury on the Colonists." With such strong reproof from so high an authority to so brave and sensitive a man as Sir Harry Smith, he felt he was put upon his defence, called upon to show his real position, and to explain the causes of delay. This he did in his reply of the 18th following, thus:—He had been deprived at an early stage of the war of 2,000 Hottentot levies, who had refused to continue their services beyond the time they had been engaged for; that the Burghers would not turn out in force (we have seen elsewhere the reason why); that at that time the troops available for the field were only 2,210* in number, and these had to carry on a desultory

* On the 16th December, 1851, these had been increased to 8,579, and the Rifle Brigade was about to embark with 652 men more.

war over an extent of country twice the size of Great Britain and Ireland; and that, having to send forces into the Colony for its protection, he had to act strictly on the defensive, and was barely enabled to maintain his posts; that the Kafirs had fraternized with the numerous and well-trained Hottentots, who had taken to the mode of guerilla warfare; that the insurgents were from 15,000 to 20,000 strong, and the whole coloured race (generally speaking) were only awaiting one serious disaster to rise *en masse*; that the troops have rested scarcely a single day, and so long as the insurgents held together in large bodies, they had been defeated on forty-five different occasions between the 24th December, 1850, and 21st October last, and that in those encounters 12 officers were killed, 18 wounded, 195 soldiers killed, and 364 wounded;* that ample means had not arrived, and “success in war is the result of those means, that men are the sinews of war, and will rescue the Colony.”

1852.—The two Kei expeditions already referred to returned to head-quarters early in January, after six weeks' absence. The first, under Major-General Somerset, bringing more than 20,000 head of cattle, losing only one man killed, but having destroyed many of the enemy and several kraals. That under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, from Butterworth, in crossing the River Kei at the wagon-drift had a desperate fight with the Kafirs, where they had constructed regular breastworks, a feature quite novel in their mode of warfare. Here he had four killed and fourteen men wounded, but inflicted a severe loss upon the natives. Proceeding to the Missionary Station he released all the Europeans and some seven thousand Fingoes (to whom British protection had been offered), with all their stock, consisting of about 30,000 horned cattle. Several other successful affairs took place at this time, which had the effect of inducing some of the belligerent Chiefs to sue for peace; but this was refused, unless they surrendered

* Add to these the casualties of November and December, which would swell this terrible list to—Killed, 15 officers and 206 soldiers; wounded, 20 officers and 395 soldiers; total, 636 within twelve months.

without conditions, trusting to Her Majesty's clemency. In February the application was renewed, when a truce of three days was conceded to enable the Chiefs to consult each other ; but this terminated in failure through Hottentot intrigue, and so, on the 15th, hostilities were resumed. On the north-east, at the 'Tsomo and Degana, several spirited actions took place in March, in which 150 natives, including some rebel Hottentots, were slain, and 2,000 cattle and 100 horses taken. In the Keiskamma Poort too, a village was destroyed, where the Hottentot rebels had constructed above eighty huts with the materials, such as glazed windows, doors, &c., taken from the plundered farm-houses. Here much provision and crops were committed to the flames, and several of the foe met a deserved fate, but with the loss on the Colonial side of one killed and three wounded.

These successes, so promising, were, however, painfully alloyed by a sad reverse on the 7th of March. At the notorious Waterkloof a party of 500 foot and horse, after capturing cattle and horses, were beset by nearly 3,000 Kafirs, and after a three hours' hand-to-hand combat, four men were killed and three officers and eighteen men wounded. This melancholy affair a few days subsequently was partially retrieved by an onslaught on the same locality, when Macomo's lurking place and stronghold was invested and broken up, many of the inmates killed, and three of that Chief's wives and two of his children captured, with a considerable quantity of cattle and horses ; but even this was effected at the expense of one officer and seven men killed and eighteen wounded. During this month a spirited gentleman (Mr. Lakeman) arrived in the Colony, and volunteered his services to raise, arm, and clothe, at his own cost, one hundred men. This noble offer was of course gladly accepted, and "Lakeman's Rangers" did right good and essential service in the field during the remainder of the campaign. Major-General Yorke also came out at the same time to assume the command of the forces ; but with these matters of congratulation calamity still seemed to cling to the fortunes of the miserable con-

test, and one of the heaviest of the whole was in the wreck of the steamer *Birkenhead*, on the 26th February, near Cape Point, having on board Military detachments proceeding to the Frontier, with a large crew, of whom in all 413 perished, including officers, men, and seamen.*

In England a violent clamour had been raised (not unreasonable) at the financial pressure caused by the lengthened and expensive Kafir war. The taxpayers, it was remarked, not only found "a skeleton in the cupboard," but "a Kafir in the salt-box," and to allay the outcry, the Governor was selected as the sacrifice. On the 14th January Earl Grey notified to His Excellency, in reply to his despatches of the 5th and 19th November preceding, that although the force placed at his disposal

* This vessel was conveying detachments from several of our regiments to the seat of war, under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, who had succeeded the late Colonel Fordyce, when she suddenly struck upon a rock near Point Danger, a little way to the east of the Cape Hangklip. The shock was so tremendous that the iron plates of the ship's bottom gave way; the cabin was quickly filled with water, and it was evident that in a few minutes more the vessel would be engulfed among the breakers. It was as yet only two o'clock in the morning, with no light but that of the stars; but in an instant the deck was crowded with the alarmed passengers, and while death was imminent only two of the ship's boats were available for service. To rush into them at the risk of swamping them would have been the impulse of the selfish; to fling themselves into the sea, in the hope of reaching the shore, but only to sink each other by their overcrowding, or perish in the breakers and by the sharks that were on the alert, would have been the headlong attempt even of the bravest. But nothing of the kind in either way was done, and never was the power of military discipline, or the worth of fearless, unflinching courage, or the moral grandeur of self-sacrificing devotedness more conspicuously displayed than in this moment of terrible trial. At the word of Colonel Seton the soldiers drew up upon the reeling and loosening deck as if they had been on parade; they obeyed his orders as calmly as if they had been executing the usual movements of the drill. The brave, humane heart of the Colonel was directed to the safety of those who could least help themselves, and whose fate would otherwise have been certain—to the women, the children, and sick on board; and they were carefully conveyed into the boats, which in the first instance were given up for their especial service; and by this arrangement all the helpless were saved, without a single exception.

had been very considerably increased, no real advantages had been gained over the enemy, while the losses of Her Majesty's troops had been exceedingly heavy, including that of Colonel Fordyce; that the successes, if they can be called so, have been entirely barren of result; that no ground had been really gained; and that the enemy, far from being discouraged by defeat, were from month to month increasing in boldness and determination; it became, therefore, a painful duty to place the conduct of the war in other hands. The Minister then recounts the "errors" into which he thought the Governor had fallen, viz.—The premature reduction of the British forces at his command (but dividing the blame between himself

And now only the strong and vigorous began to look to their own safety, after they had so nobly discharged their duty to others; and while several of them betook themselves to swimming, or committed themselves to pieces of floating timber, the vessel parted amidships and went down with the greater part of the officers and soldiers, with whom self-preservation had been only the latest subject of anxiety. In this fatal catastrophe 357 officers and soldiers and sixty seamen perished, while nearly 200 lives were saved, and this too in a crisis where, but for these arrangements, and the fidelity with which they were executed, nearly all might have been lost. These soldiers also, be it observed, were not veterans, but for the most part young recruits who had never been under fire; and yet they calmly stood in a breach more dismaying than that of Badajoz or St. Sebastian, and saw the boats, their last hope of safety, depart from them without a murmur. But what shall we say of the controlling might of that noble leader who directed their movements, and whom even to the death they were proud to obey? It was his last as well as his first field of action, if such it might be termed; but the event which bereaved the service of such an officer showed how much it had lost and what a name he might have achieved for himself in the annals of modern warfare. The catastrophe of the *Birkenhead* was a unique specimen of heroism, in which the coolest courage and intrepid daring were combined with the purest humanity and disinterestedness, and as such it roused the emulation of our soldiers, and was the parent of similar achievements in the subsequent campaigns of the Crimea and India. A mural table, erected by Government at Chelsea Hospital, records the event and the names of the sufferers. (See Bowler's *Kafir Wars and the British Settlers of South Africa*, with descriptions by the late W. R. Thomson, Member of the Legislative Assembly. A volume of plates (4to, London, 1865) very beautiful, with most interesting letter press.)

and Sir Harry, for he had probably too strongly urged that measure; in sending strong assurances that there existed no real danger, and that the apprehensions of the farmers were unfounded; that it was a most fatal error, as regarded the rebel Hottentots, that the first instances of treason were not dealt with more promptly and more severely. These and some other shortcomings are also detailed, attributing them entirely to fault in judgment, and admitting that "had the Governor's military operations been less complicated by *political* difficulties, he would have achieved the same success by which he had been formerly so much distinguished."

There was, no doubt, considerable truth in the censure, but still great margin for extenuation. Sir H. Smith trusted, unfortunately, too much to the prestige of his name and the memory of his former Kafir administration. The great Hottentot defection—a Frankenstein created by panderers to the discontent of that plastic race—was unexpected; but it is too true its treatment by the Governor was a grave mistake. For instance, in March and April, 1851, forty-seven of these rebels and traitors were condemned to death; but these sentences, after confirmation, were commuted into transportation and imprisonment with hard labour for life, and this relaxation of punishment, gladly adopted by His Excellency, was the effect of a recommendation of his Executive Council.* Again in January of this year, after a sentence of death passed upon the traitor and principal promoter of the revolt, Private John Brander of the Albany Levy, who had deserted to the enemy with his arms and ammunition,† was only punished by a seven years' imprisonment. Sir Harry, perfect soldier as he was, had an instinctive horror of shedding blood, which was never more strongly developed than when he curbed the Military

* The Cape Attorney-General, on the 10th March, 1852, gave this opinion—"When you find a rebel in the field shoot him; when you take a rebel in his haunts, hang him."

† Sir H. Smith pitied the poor creatures, knowing they had been deluded into a belief that they are taught by the precepts of the Bible

from retaliating the insults offered to Her Majesty and themselves by the mobs of the Western metropolis during the Anti-Convict *éméute*. The reduction of the force at his command at the close of the hostilities of 1847 was occasioned by his belief in the consolidation of that peace through a return to the policy of 1835, which belief was held by his political advisers at the seat of Government in Cape Town, who were equally with himself taken aback by storm at the news of the revolt. All men sympathized with the Governor on his recall; it was not degradation, for he was soon employed in England* in high appointments; his friends particularly deplored the event, which, sensitive as he was known to be, must have caused him great mental suffering. With some share of bluster (in the best acceptation of that term) he was in private life most warm-hearted, generous, and amiable, unforgetful of services done to him when plain Colonel Smith. Those who had the honour of being admitted to his confidence, and therefore best knew him, can bear testimony to his ardent desire to benefit the Colony, and to his personal regard for its inhabitants. It is true, when under excitement he employed somewhat strong expletives, which, like sheet lightning, are terrifying yet harmless; but the writer can add from personal and intimate knowledge, that notwithstanding this blemish, he was, perhaps, strange to say, a devout and religious man.

to fight for independence with the sword of Gideon. "That they are an oppressed and ill-used race, and that the Word of God in the Bible tells them so." (Vide Papers presented to Parliament, 3rd February, 1852, pp. 72—110. See also *Uithalder's Statement of Grievances*, page 162, *idem*; and the *Wrongs of the Kafirs*, by Justus.)

* Sir Harry Smith, on his return to England, was employed in many high positions, and on the 18th June, 1852, we find him among the honoured guests of the Duke, at Apsley House, on the anniversary of Waterloo, when His Grace proposed his health, which was received with the greatest enthusiasm.

SECTION XVI.

1852 continued. Arrival of New Governor—His instructions—Claims of British Settlers of 1820 to Military protection, or their right to control the Border policy—Lieut.-Governor Darling arrives—His duties defined—Abandonment of Colony again hinted—The Governor takes the field—A Fort established in Waterkloof—Expedition against Kreli—The Hottentot rebel Uiithaalder informs the Governor he is prepared to fight or treat for peace—Reward for his apprehension—Subsequently commits suicide—Seyolo, Chopo, &c. surrender—Amnesty offered—Mapassa's territory escheated—Expedition against Moshesh—Battle of Berea—Demands for Parliamentary Government resumed—Retrospect of the Agitation—Earl Grey directs Removal of Seat of Government—Eastern memorials for Separation—Earl Grey's reply—Opinions of Executive Council taken thereon—Draft of Constitution Ordinance arrives—Discussed and passed.

Administration of Governor and High Commissioner The Honourable Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart.

FROM MARCH 1, 1852, TO DECEMBER, 5, 1854.

AND

C. M. Darling, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor.

1852.—The late Governor's successor, Sir George Cathcart, arrived in the Colony on the 31st of March; but previous to the actual assumption of his duties several important Military operations had been carried on with marked success by Sir Harry Smith in the Amatolas, beyond the Kei, and several other points, and a foundation had been thus laid for the pacification of the long harried and suffering Frontier.

The new Governor's instructions, dated 2nd February, 1852, were very important, the first injunction being "to bring to a close at the earliest period possible the complete subjugation of the Kafirs, but still that the war—begun with so little provocation and in so treacherous a manner by the Kafirs and rebellious Hottentots—should be prosecuted with unremitting vigour until finished by their being reduced to complete and unconditional submission,"

and to a revision of the system hitherto pursued on the Eastern Frontier, in order that the best precautions may be taken against the periodical renewal of the grievous losses and sufferings inflicted upon the Colonists and the heavy pecuniary burthen entailed on the Mother Country. They then proceed to say, "It is due to those persons and their descendants who were induced with the direct sanction of Parliament to leave their country (in 1820) for the purpose of settling in the Eastern divisions of the Colony, that they should not be abandoned without aid or support in a position of so much danger; but they must conform to those rules which may be necessary for their own protection and safety;" and the despatch admits the principle "that if the Colonists of European descent are to be left unsupported by the power of the Mother Country, to rely solely on themselves for protection from fierce barbarians with whom they are placed in immediate contact, they must also be left to the unchecked exercise of those severe measures of self-defence which a position of so much danger will naturally dictate." The instructions provide for a Lieutenant-Governor for the Eastern Province, observing that the one now appointed, Mr. Darling's most important duty will be, on the meeting of the new Parliament, to attend to the legislative business of the Colony. They then announce the revocation of the Letters Patent of 1836, by which the Eastern Province was erected into a separate and distinct Government; and they conclude with the—not the first, but—ominously suggestive reminder "that beyond the very limited extent of territory required for the security of the Cape of Good Hope as a Naval station, the British Crown and nation have no interest whatever in maintaining any territorial dominions in South Africa; that the belief by a proper system of management those for whose welfare it was alone desired that British power should be maintained in those distant regions, might be made to understand their interests in supporting it; that both the European and native races might be induced to yield obedience to the authority exercised by British officers for their benefit.

This belief was encouraged by the successes which for nearly three years appeared to have attended the measures adopted by Sir H. Smith; but, unfortunately, these sanguine hopes have been disappointed, and it will be a question whether the attempt which has thus failed can be renewed, or whether the exercise of British authority in South Africa must not be restricted within much narrower limits than heretofore."

Sir G. Cathcart took the field on the 9th April, and on the 12th gave notice that Sandilli and other chiefs who had taken part in this wicked rebellion must retire beyond the Kei, and that none of them would ever be suffered to return and live in peace in their old country, a threat, which like all previous ones, was unwisely relaxed. The next three or four months supply little beyond events of the usual character; within the Colony rebels lifting stock, stopping the mails, constantly attacking and plundering wagons on the high roads—in one instance carrying off from a train of wagons, fifty-one Minie rifles and muskets, and killing ten of the escort and wounding nine. Beyond the Keiskamma, at the Buffalo River, the camp of the rebel Hottentot, Uithaalder, was broken up, when were found papers indicating how well his rebel band was organized, how extensive the conspiracy, and among them requisitions written in good English and in a fair hand, for ammunition, &c., signed "Uithaalder, General." At this place a deserter from the Cape Corps was captured and summarily hung—wholesome example, one that it would have been well had it been earlier acted upon.* Another camp near Auckland

* On the 12th May, A. Botha, another Hottentot rebel, was sentenced to death, but it was commuted to imprisonment for life, and this system of leniency was generally adopted, although it was admitted on all sides the rebels had no excuse for their defection. About this time appears a name destined to become historical, that of Mr. Cameron, the Abyssinian captive, who, an assistant Magistrate at Ladismith, Klip River, Natal, now turned up at King William's Town. It appeared he had been landed from a vessel called the *Albion* at the Umtata River, and had travelled thence on foot, experiencing many hardships, but never receiving any ill-treatment from the Kafirs.

was destroyed, the enemy once more shelled out of the Waterkloof in the presence of the Governor, when he established a permanent Fort there, near the spot rendered sacred by the death of the brave Colonel Fordyce, and altogether prospects began to brighten, but not without the cost of life on the Colonial side, for besides the losses in the field, fifteen deliberate murders had been committed by the enemy.

On the 6th August the Governor commenced operations against Kreli, whom he charged with not using his influence as Paramount Chief to end the Gaika Rebellion, with neglecting to pay the fine imposed by Sir Harry Smith, for comforting, assisting, and harbouring Hottentot rebels, and insolently sending back his, the Governor's, peaceable message, remonstrance, and just demands with defiance. Moving to the White Kei he informed the messengers now sent by the Chief that he had come himself to seize the penalty imposed and as much more as would pay the expenses of his expedition, and required him to bring the fine and surrender his person, promising that he should be kept in safety from personal violence until the Gaikas crossed the Kei; to this the messengers replied the fine might possibly be paid, but that Kreli would never surrender himself. On the 10th, the Governor, therefore, at the head of the burghers whom he had called out on the 1st of July, and who had promptly responded, crossed this new Rubicon and established his camp on the left bank, and on the 12th marched to Kreli's kraal, which, found deserted, was burnt, but the enemy did not "enter an appearance." He then dispatched two columns of troops, burghers, and levies to sweep the country, who returned within a few days, having captured about 10,000 head of cattle and 120 horses, and on the 21st, thanking Lieutenant-Colonel Napier and the troops, also eulogizing the burghers for their meritorious services, and praising them for having so loyally responded to his appeal, he permitted them to return to their homes.

During these decisive and successful operations much depredation was still going on in the Colony; but it became known that among the rebel Hottentots their compactness as a body was dissolved, that there was a general scarcity of ammunition and food, and that they began to abandon all hopes of success; yet Uithaalter, the leader, still boasted he had 600 men at his command, and in a letter to the Governor, which he still signed as "General," had the impudence to say he "was ready either to fight or treat for peace." His Excellency's courteous response was a proclamation offering £500 for his apprehension.*

On the 15th September demonstrations were renewed by the Governor in the now famous Waterkloof, when Quesha, the Tambookie Chief, and Macomo, with their adherents, were expelled, a number of the enemy killed, some Hottentots taken prisoners, belonging to the Cape Corps, of whom a few were hanged on the spot by Colonel Eyre, and the war was now evidently drawing to its close

* William Uithaalter, the notorious rebel leader of the Hottentots, anticipated the executioner. The press of the day says he fell by his own hand. The particulars are as follows:—During last month (March, 1865) he, anxious to revive his old game, had a communication with Kreli about some ground which that Chief, he said, had promised him, whereupon to erect a Hottentot Empire to which all the outcasts of his race were to resort once more to build up the now scattered nation. After many attempts to procure permission from the British authorities to visit, upon some specious pretence, Kreli, but really in pursuit of his mad scheme of empire, which the authorities refused, and he was narrowly watched, the more especially on visiting the Mission Station of St. Mark's, where the Rev. Mr. Brownlee preached a sermon on the awful position rebels had placed themselves, and warning them against taking any interest in the sayings and doings of those going about to stir up the old leaven of rebellion. He was so touched by the sermon that he evinced strong marks of disquietude and hurriedly returned to his home. Here he learnt that policemen had already been sent to watch his proceedings; he then determined to return to Queen's Town, as he professed, to make good his case with the Civil Commissioner; but on the road he thrust a large pocket-knife deep into his throat and there died, and his body was removed and buried by his family.

through mere exhaustion. In the early part of October Sandilli very narrowly escaped capture, and in the course of the month Seyolo, Chief of one of the minor T'Slambie tribes who had joined the war party, surrendered himself; subsequently tried by court-martial, he was sentenced to death, but shortly afterwards escaped the extreme punishment with transportation for life. Chopo, a Tambookie Chief, then followed the example of Seyolo, and it was found that the enemy, dispersed and dispirited, had broken up into hordes of banditti, and the Governor announced his intention to spare the lives of all Hottentot rebels, except their ringleaders, upon their surrender, and a reward of £50 was offered for the apprehension of any and each of those proscribed. Encouraged by this act of clemency, several of the rebels came in during November, along with Dagali, the son of the Tambookie Queesha, all corroborating the rumours of the abject distress which was known to exist among these misguided fragments of a huge conspiracy. On the 22nd of November, His Excellency proclaimed the forfeiture of the territory of the late great Tambookie Chief Mapassa, offering a pardon and the re-occupation of their lands to those of his people who would live as British subjects within the new British boundary, and recalling Nonesi, the Regent, who, faithful to Colonial interests, had crossed the Bashce to avoid participation in the war. Much mischief by detached parties continued to be committed up to the end of this unfortunate year, during which no less than thirty-three murders were perpetrated, and many of the Colonists severely wounded by wandering thieves, perpetuating a lamentable state of danger and dismay.

The complicity of Moshesh with Kreli* and the coast Chiefs at war with the Colony, and the unsettled state of affairs between the expatriated Boers beyond the Orange River and the Basuto Chief, induced the Governor—at the instance of the Commissioner, Mr. Owen, then in the

* It may be seen how constant was the intercourse between Moshesh and the coast Kafirs, even up to the year 1856, by Sir George Grey's despatches to the Honourable H. Labouchere, 23rd December, 1856.

Sovereignty—to collect a force of some 2,000 troops in the month of November to proceed against and chastise that remarkable and astute barbarian. After crossing the great river and arriving at a Mission Station called Plattberg on the 13th December, His Excellency made a demand of 10,000 head of cattle and 1,000 horses for robberies committed on the Sovereignty, threatening that, unless payment was accorded, “there will be war.” Moshesh hesitated with a sort of half compliance, but insinuating most significantly to the Governor a latent danger. “Do not,” said he, “talk of war; however anxious I am to avoid it, you know that a dog when beaten will show his teeth.” His Excellency did not take the hint, persisted, and the battle of the Berea, or rather rout, ensued on the memorable 20th, over which “untoward event” it is judicious to draw a veil, for it was not a success. The wily but politic Chief, however, claimed no victory in the hearing of or before the Governor, evinced extraordinary humility under the extraordinary circumstances, and even entreated for peace, which was of course gladly granted. His Excellency retired—not retreated—to the disgust of most of his staff; and Moshesh, rising into eminence by the prestige of his arms in a conflict with British soldiers, became at once, without a word, a Paramount Chief. It afterwards transpired that, while he adroitly concealed the show of triumph from Her Majesty’s representative, he blazoned it forth far and wide through the coloured tribes on both sides of the Quathlamba Mountains.

It is not necessary, or to the purpose, to pursue the subject of this intervention, or enter into the long narrative of Transgariepine complications. The question is still an open one, subject to much negotiation, which it is to be hoped (fearingly) may yet be satisfactorily decided. The whole matter, dating back for more than half a century, will furnish at some future period materials for the history of one of the most interesting episodes in the great drama of the collision or combinations of the two differently coloured races, whichever it may be.

The Military movements consequent on this (colonially) great war threw into obscurity almost all the civil occurrences of this eventful year ; yet those luckily absent from the “ front of fray ” found time to devote to the weighty subject of Constitutional rights and Parliamentary Government, which had been now so long and urgently agitated, and they became impatient, and determined to use pressure to obtain what the community considered a birthright cruelly withheld ; and the other that it would be pleasant to the sight, a thing to make one wise, knowing good from evil (which it has effectually done). It will be remembered that in 1849, during the Anti-Convict clamour, an effort was attempted by certain members of the Legislative Council* “ to coerce the Imperial Government to grant whatever they might be pleased to demand,” and that their suggestions for the immediate introduction of representative institutions failed entirely ; but the matter had been already entrusted to surer hands, the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, the substance of whose report has been quoted in the events of the year 1850.

In December, 1849, Earl Grey, in his despatch upon the subject, penned the following sentence—appalling to the inhabitants of the Western Metropolis, but assuring to those of the Eastern Districts :—“ The time has come,” wrote he, “ when the seat of Government can no longer be kept in a position so far from central as Cape Town, without extreme inconvenience ;” and he directed that the Legislative Council should be moved to the East. On the receipt of this decision the then Governor reported a change in his opinion of the previous year as to the utility of one centre of Government, and he recommended a separate and distinct Government for the Eastern Province. The promulgation of Earl Grey’s order very naturally aroused the inhabitants of the Western Metropolis against the transfer of their long-enjoyed and dearly cherished supremacy, and in the early part of 1851 strong

* Sir A. Stockenstrom, Messrs. Fairbairn, Reitz, and Brand. The two first-named as delegates proceeded to England, but their mission proved ineffectual.

remonstrances were transmitted home, deprecating so extreme a measure; but at this time the inhabitants of Albany, not being cognizant of the intention and directions of the Colonial Minister, appealed to Her Majesty, by strong representations, either for separate Government or the removal of the so-called "Central Government" from its present seat at Cape Town to some more convenient spot nearer the Border, and this was responded to by Earl Grey on the 14th June, 1851, in the following terms:—"I concur with the memorialists as to the expediency of the latter measure" (the removal), "nor am I surprised to find that among the inhabitants of the Eastern division of the Colony there should prevail an almost universal conviction that their interests cannot safely be left to the consideration of a Legislature sitting at Cape Town. It will be easier for the members from the Western portion of the Colony than for those from the Eastern division to leave their homes for the purpose of attending a legislative meeting at a distance." "The depreciation of property in Cape Town ought not to weigh in this question;" that in case of a maritime war "the naval and military protection need be in no degree impaired by the transfer of the public establishments to another situation. On the contrary, in the event of an attack upon the Colony by a foreign enemy, it would be an advantage that the seat of Government and the public offices should not be in Cape Town, &c." "I know not on what grounds the commercial capital of a country ought to be the seat of Government;" "while the interests of the commercial capital of a country are never likely to be overlooked, wherever the Government may be established, such a capital may often obtain an undue preference, if in addition to its other means of exercising a predominating influence, it has also that of being the seat of Government."

On the receipt of this important despatch, the Governor, then in King William's Town (24th September), directed a session of the Cape Town Executive Council should be called to take its several points under consideration, which was done on the 22nd October following and subsequently.

The result of this Conference will be gathered from the following analysis. The Honourable Mr. Montagu, Colonial Secretary, wrote—"It is expedient that the seat of Government should be located at or near to the Eastern Frontier." The Honourable Mr. Rivers, Treasurer-General—"There is a necessity of providing a resident Government at some place more central and convenient for the administration of the affairs of the Frontier than Cape Town;" and he wound up his memorandum by the observation, that "the safety and security of the whole Colony are paramount objects, and that, as recommended by Sir H. Pottinger, in case of separation, Cape Town ought to have its Legislature, &c." The Honourable W. Porter, Attorney-General, was in favour of dividing the Colony, "now somewhat overgrown," into two Colonies—Cape Town the seat of the West, and Graham's Town, "at least for a time," that of the East. "Should Western representatives resort to Graham's Town at all, it would only be to obstruct business, clamour for a removal, and obtain separation." "If in any quarter of the Colony, East or West, a bad spirit should display itself, I think the Government should forthwith quit its usual seat; and I will not conceal my opinion that there have within the two last years been occurrences in Cape Town which might well have justified the Government in going to Graham's Town." "Should the now expected Parliament refuse fair terms of separation, the interposition of the British Legislature should be sought for, &c." The Hon. W. Field, Collector of Customs, thought "a separate Government will become inevitably necessary." The Hon. W. Hope, Auditor-General—"This Colony cannot be properly governed from Cape Town; the Eastern Provinces would rather bear the expenses of a separate Government than be governed from Cape Town. The only way to govern the distant provinces is for the Government to be stationed there." "The Government has been too long in Cape Town." "Why should the members from the East come to Cape Town?" "If it is necessary, in case of an invasion, that the Government should be at Cape Town, then

why do not the Queen and Ministers go to Portsmouth when England is threatened?" "If the Governor was resident in Graham's Town there would never be another Kafir war." "If instant removal of the seat of Government does not take place, there must be instant separation." "If only a separation of the Provinces takes place, I still think the supreme Government ought to be on the Frontier, and that a Lieutenant-Governor, with separate Legislature, is all that could be required in Cape Town." Such were the solemnly recorded opinions of the members of the Executive Council, who, notwithstanding they were all residents of the Cape peninsula, accustomed to all its ease and luxury, the product of two centuries, and deeply interested in maintaining the Government intact and in that locality, unanimously declared that some change was inevitable; and out of the five members three sided with the removalists and two for separation, to which latter the Governor himself confessed his adhesion in his despatch of the 7th November, 1851, when transmitting the minute of Council, saying that "so soon as possible the Eastern Province should have a separate Government, consisting of a Lieut.-Governor, Council, and representative Assembly, acting on the spot." "It is vainly imagined that a representative Assembly"—one for the whole Colony—"and the freedom of the laws it is to enact, will provide a palladium against all the difficulties which at this moment assail the Colony. Such illusive ideas must be banished."

At the close of 1851, the Draft Ordinances for constituting a Cape Parliament were received for final correction, and on the following March passed through the ordeal of heated discussion in the nominee Legislative Council, especially upon the questions of qualification and franchise, the Conservative members of that body dreading a very low one, as it might "leave the Hottentot community a prey to political adventurers;" but at length the Ordinances were passed in April with all their defects, as they were considered by the Eastern people—namely, the low franchise, the inequality in the proportion of members allotted to the Eastern Province, and the fixation of the

Sessions in the Western Metropolis. The immediate introduction was, however, judiciously postponed by Sir J. Pakington while hostilities continued, to the infinite indignation of many of the Westerns, who, somewhat intemperately designating delay as “unsatisfactory and disgusting,” proposed the dismissal from office of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Montagu, as being inimical, while the East, on the contrary, thought otherwise, and with their usual consistency, besides thanking the Minister for his liberality and caution, warned him at the same time “that no scheme of Government would be satisfactory without removal or separation.”

Among the incidents of improvements of this year may be mentioned the erection of a lighthouse to the east, but almost within the waters of Algoa Bay, on the Bird Islands, so named by the survivors from the celebrated wreck of the *Doddington*, East Indiaman, 1755, and of which memorials in the way of anchors, &c., are still to be found.*

* See page 158.

SECTION XVII.

1853—Kafirs and Hottentots weary of War and dejected—Peace with Kreli—Sandilli surrenders—The Cathcart-Bowker system established—Amatolas made a Royal Reserve—Tambookie Territory forfeited—Queen's Town District established and peopled on conditions of self-defence, &c.—Governor's Correspondence—His Policy—Death of Umlangeni, the Prophet—Introduction of European Settlers recommended and Military organization of Colonists—Cape Constitution arrives—Its reception West and East—Bain's Pass. 1854—Namaqualand Copper Mines mania—Inauguration of first Cape Parliament—Its Session and Acts—Sir George Cathcart resigns—His glorious Death in the Crimea—Queen's Town's first muster of Grantees—Rumoured Fingo and Kafir Alliance—Arrival of Governor Sir George Grey—Orange River Sovereignty abandoned.

1853.—Active hostilities in British Kaffraria were now succeeded by passive resistance on the part of the enemy, with some plundering within the borders by starving banditti. The war was perishing of itself; the blood of the troops and Colonists had been poured out like water; the country wasted over an extent of 30,000 square miles, and that for a duration of more than two years. The Kafirs and Hottentots had consumed or lost all their booty, and their horrible saturnalia was followed by pinching want and hopeless dejection. The former had nothing left to repay for their miserable onslaught but territory, and that, for fear of an outcry elsewhere as terrible as the native war-whoop itself, was tabooed. Notwithstanding the Imperial Exchequer had been drained so freely, the full retaliation threatened was foregone, and the righteous vengeance justly due for cupidinous treachery it was thought proper and prudent to relinquish. Kreli, the principal inciter of all the misery, finding his dupes no longer serviceable, simulated contrition, and peace with this ingrate, who owed the very existence of himself and his tribe to British aid in 1828, was proclaimed on the 14th of February, and in the following month—as a token that he had “accepted” its conditions—he sent in the munificent acknowledgment of two oxen, worth together

about £7 10s. The war, it was reported, cost the Home Government alone nearly two millions.* On the 2nd of March Sandilli too, the already twice pardoned, who, with his minor Chiefs, it was supposed had crossed the Kei, came in, acknowledged he had been subdued, and craved forgiveness, when the Royal mercy and pardon was extended to him on the condition that he and his people should never return to the Amatolas† or their formerly occupied lands, which were escheated to the Crown; but they were allowed to reside as British subjects westward of the Kei River, but beyond the Amatola. Sandilli was also to deliver up 100 guns besides those stolen by the Kafir Police, become responsible for the good conduct of the Gaika tribe, promise true and faithful allegiance, and was informed that the pardon accorded did not extend beyond British Kaffraria, and that no Hottentot would be suffered to reside with the Gaikas without special sanction.

Peace now restored, the Governor inaugurated what is known as the Cathcart System, a policy the only one likely to give solidity to any accessions of territory rendered necessary by native aggression. The following are its prominent features as set forth by that officer:—

First.—The Military occupation and control of British Kaffraria and its native inhabitants as the principal object; the retention under the same description of occupancy of the mountain districts of the Amatolas, the commanding

* The three wars 1835, 1847, 1851, are said to have cost the Imperial Treasury, the Colony, and the Colonists, a sum no less than £4,500,000.

† The Amatolas, so frequently referred to, and the possession of which was so long disputed, is a strong military position; it contains about 600 square miles, intersected by deep rocky ravines in which many rivers rise, and is clothed with forests of large trees, with wide and fertile valleys full of rich pasturage. The mountain range by which it is bounded on the north, giving its name to the district, has several lofty peaks, the highest rising to an altitude of 4,000 feet. On three of its sides it is bounded by British Kaffraria, and beyond the range, on the north inland, there are high, treeless, grassy plains, but with very few inhabitants. It is thus almost entirely isolated by "the open" and covertless, leaving no strong holding ground for the savages.

key of the whole territory, in order to keep the outside Kafirs in subjection, and prevent the intrusion therein of squatters; this district, comprising about one-fifth of British Kaffraria, to be called "The Crown Reserve," but the colonization of which was to be considered of secondary importance, although lands might be held there with certain restrictions.

Second.—But the most important part of the new policy regarded that portion of the Tambookie territory hitherto occupied by Mapassa, and forfeited through his complicity in the late rebellion, and was that which provided for an inexpensive method of local defence by other inhabitants themselves, irrespective of Military aid. This system was suggested to the Governor, as he admitted, by Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker,* a gentleman already mentioned as one of the gallant defenders of Whittlesea, and it became the basis of a defensive system, covering the whole Frontier line, from the foot of the Stormberg to the sea, with a select cordon of riflemen, holding their acres on the condition of mutual protection.

* Mr. Bowker is one of the nine stalwart sons of the late Miles Bowker, Esq., a Settler of 1820, the Heemraad or Town Councillor alluded to in these Annals as one of the first immigrants appointed to the magisterial bench. The family came from Northumberland, of gentle blood; the father, Miles, was a scholar and good botanist, and died in Albany some years ago, above the age of eighty. The "boys" have maintained the character of the old English border lineage—brave, tall, strong, wiry, indomitable hunters and shots, formidable men in bush fight, to which their hereditary nature and their residence on the Colonial Frontier has added strength. To Mr. Thomas Holden Bowker the idea of local defence suggested itself in 1847, who, fearing the withdrawal of the support of British troops at no distant day, bethought him of an alternative. In 1850 he brought the subject before the public in one of the journals; and in October, 1852, maturing his plan, laid it before Mr. Owen, commissioner for the settlement of waste lands, as the ground-work of a self-supporting and self-defending community. This was recommended to Sir George Cathcart, who at once adopted it, and so high an opinion he entertained of its efficacy that he pronounced, "if carried out in full there was no chance of another Kafir war, and that a great and disastrous war will be impossible." Time has lent its evidence to the belief, for no actual war has taken place during an interval of sixteen years; and it is only to be

His Excellency, considering the case of these now vacated lands, felt "that the only way in which aborigines who have been expelled can be prevented from returning was immediately replacing them by other occupants with sufficient means, and in sufficiently dense allocations to provide for mutual support," and knowing how dangerous it would be to leave them denuded of population, at once decided to grant them on such terms as should, on the Bowker plan, secure the Border north of the Amatolas without the aid of troops. The territory in question, called the Windvogelberg country, being thus peopled, is admirably suited for this purpose; commanding, by entirely overhanging on the north, both the Kat and Amatola ranges of mountains, it renders those dangerous fastnesses almost impervious, or at least not easily tenable by an enemy, and the more so now, as they have been partially opened by good roads. On the subject of these roads the following was the opinion of that sagacious man, the Duke of Wellington:—"The operations by the Kafirs are carried on by the occupation of extensive regions, which in some places are called 'jungle,' in others bush, but which in reality are thickset wood. These Kafirs having established themselves in these fastnesses, with the plunder on which they exist, the assailants suffer great losses. Our troops do not, cannot, occupy those fastnesses. Well, the enemy moves off, and is attacked again; and the same operation is renewed time after time. The consequence of this, to my certain knowledge is, that under the three last Governors some of these fastnesses have been attacked no less than three or four times over. There is, however, a remedy for this state of evil. When a fastness is stormed, it should be totally destroyed after its capture.

regretted that when an opportunity lately offered for applying the system to the Transkeian Territory it was not taken advantage of. Mr. Bowker lost all his property in the former Kafir wars, was very inadequately rewarded for his services, as shown by the report of the Select Committee of the Cape House of Assembly in 1858, who recommended compensation which has never yet been awarded, and he is now pining in undeserved penury, compensation to him and the sufferers by the wars of 1834-'46-'51 being cruelly denied.

I have had some experience in this kind of warfare, and I know the only mode of subduing an enemy of this description is by opening roads into his fastnesses for the movement of regular troops with the utmost rapidity. That course will occasion great labour, the employment of much time, and great expenditure. I say this measure must be adopted, cost what time, labour, and expense it may. That expense will not be one-tenth part of the expense of one campaign." Where previously only in two places even a horse could pass, they have been made capable for the use of trade and for the passage of artillery, thus connecting the port of East London, at the mouth of the Buffalo, through the new district called North Victoria, with its capital, Queen's Town, the populous division of Albert, the Orange River, the Free State Republic, and the territory of the Basutos, just annexed to the British Empire.

The district, named after its chief town, situated on the Komani River, exceedingly fertile and well watered, was parcelled out in free grant to numerous applicants, chiefly those who had distinguished themselves in the late struggle, on the tenure of payment of a moderate quitrent, and that the occupant should, independent of himself, find two other armed white men, fully equipped with horse, saddle, and weapons for every three thousand acres—all liable to be called out by Government whenever their services should be wanted, and to muster in full force, properly provided, on the Sovereign's Birthday, to be inspected by the authorities. No farm was to exceed 3,000 acres, and such extent only to be granted where the country could not sustain a large population; and on these terms Sir George Cathcart says, in his despatch announcing the adoption of his judicious plan, he had applications from all directions, from men admirably adapted for the purpose.

The measures devised for the future, completed by the dissolution of that Nidus of dissaffection, the Kat River Settlement, enabled the Governor, on the 14th April, to address the Duke of Newcastle, and announce that peace had been restored to all parts of the South African

dominions, and that he was of opinion "that, with due precaution and sufficient vigilance to combat malignant enemies, there was no reason why the inhabitants of the Eastern Districts of the Colony might not prosper and live in peace with their neighbours ; that the expulsion of every tribe beyond the Colonial boundary had been accomplished, and not one Kafir location remained westward of the Kieskama and Chumi Rivers ;" and he suggests sending out some organized corps of Military Colonists to relieve the troops on the lands from which the Gaikas have been expelled, including the Amatolas.

To complete the sequence of native affairs, a rapid glance may be taken of the Governor's communications homeward. In June he reports the Gaikas under Sandilli having submissively settled down in their new locations on the Kei, and that the roads between King William's Town and Queen's Town are travelled in confidence and security. In August he complains of "the anomalous state of that insignificant though troublesome portion of the Colonial possessions, British Kaffraria, for which exist Letters Patent constituting it a Lieutenant-Governorship, dated 14th December, 1850, but not hitherto promulgated, and not in any way connected with the Cape Colony or annexed to it." In September, he announces the death of Umlangeni, the prophet, "unwept, unhonoured," and discarded, and that of the Hottentot rebel leader Brander, beyond the Bashee, from wounds he had received ; that within the Amatolas road-making was progressing favourably, but he was anxious for instructions whether British Kaffraria was to be retained as a conquered territory or a Crown possession ; that only two courses presented themselves—abandonment, or the introduction of Settlers of European origin. In the same month he calls the attention of the Minister to the necessity of some military organization for the Colony, and furnishes statements by which it is made to appear that at that time there were in the Western Province 13,708, and in the Eastern Province 7,583, total 21,191, males between the ages of sixteen and fifty capable of bearing arms. And in

December he again reports, "All is peace and security and contentment everywhere."

If in the month of September, 1849, "all faces gathered blackness" by the intimation that in Simon's Bay had anchored the ship *Neptune*, with its foul cargo—that deep was the indignation and loud the curses, so that loyalty paled and disaffection enjoyed a temporary triumph, how greatly different the visages and voices, and widely changed the scene, on the 21st of April of this year, when proudly entering Table Bay came the good ship *Lady Jocelyn*, bearing the infant Constitution—

"The child of love, though born in bitterness;"

and when on the 2nd May the Government published the Duke of Newcastle's despatch of the 14th March, transmitting orders of Her Majesty's Council, notifying the revised and amended Ordinances for constituting a Parliament for the Colony, which, he justly remarked, "confer one of the most liberal Constitutions enjoyed by any of the British possessions;" and still greater the delight to the Western denizens when it was announced that the removal of the seat of Legislature was postponed for the present, and "that the question of separation could only be entertained with advantage at some future time."*

The arrival of "the boon" was not hailed in the East with the same uproarious joy as by the people of the elder Province; there, on the contrary, was "a deep feeling of disappointment and dissatisfaction." Easterns felt at once, and predicted, they would be placed at the mercy of a "Cape Town party;" that the future time for carrying out separation would never arrive; that removal would be protracted to the Greek Kalends; and that the Constitution, like Sinbad's "man of the sea," would be extremely difficult to shake off. A sop was, however, administered in order to quiet the unpleasant feeling by the intimation from Sir G. Cathcart that a Lieutenant-Governor would

* In the obituary of 1853 occurs that of Lady Sale, whose captivity at Cabool and deliverance possesses historical interest. She died at the Cape on the 6th July.

be appointed for the Eastern Province, a Resident Judge, Solicitor-General, a Registry of Deeds' Office, and a Surveyor-General's Department.

Among the events of this year must not be forgotten the completion of that stupendous work, the road through the Berg River Mountains in the Western District connecting Cape Town with the interior, *via* Worcester. This splendid engineering achievement was carried out by that accomplished, self-taught, and successful geologist, Andrew Geddes Bain, and bears his name—"Bain's Pass." It is to his skill in similar works the Colony is greatly indebted, his last being that of the Kat River, now nearly finished.

1854.—Attention has been almost rivetted for years past to the progress of Military matters on the Eastern portion of the Colony. It is now to be directed to the Western Province for another subject besides that of the great political triumph so near at hand in the actual achievement of a South African Parliament. This was the noticeable fact of the extraordinary excitement, shared alike by the calculating and less circumspect portions of the community, caused by the mania of copper mining. Namaqualand, a large district skirting the Atlantic coast, had been long known, even in the time of Governor Van der Stell, who visited the locality in 1685, to be very rich in the ores of that mineral; and in October of the present year the spirit of adventure was called into action by the proprietors of some Government mineral leases, and who had gained the concession of certain rights from natives. These persons set on foot a mining association with 10,000 shares of £20 each. Others followed, so that at one time there were about thirty companies afloat, with a nominal capital of £1,393,000. The shares were offered at a low deposit, and future calls were to be made at distant periods. Crowds rushed with avidity for this chance of speedy wealth, no less than £108,526 was paid up, and every speculator was seized with the "notion" that these visiting calls would not be made before profits had been realized. They were mistaken: the calls came, but not

the copper. The country in which the buried treasures are deposited is a difficult one, sterile, distant from the metropolis, with a dangerous sea margin, having only two places of export, Port Nolloth and Hondeklip Bay. There was abundance of the metal, but the means of transport were wanting. The roads were execrable, the sea beach far from the mining centres; and by the end of the year the whole scheme collapsed, proving an entire failure to the shareholders, and involving them in serious losses and many in entire ruin. Still the mineral treasure is there, and the enterprise will pay when the appliances at present in progress are completed.*

But the grand experiment, which was expected to give everything to everybody, and somewhat more—to close all old wounds, cure all grievances, stifle all dissatisfaction, and calm the fears of the inhabitants of the Western Province as to the dreaded removal, was at last, after waiting more than a quarter of a century, approaching consummation. The Engine Constitution had received its last touch, its machinery its final adjustment, and, as it was believed, all the polish required for the avoidance of friction. One of the most important features of the Constitution, however, was the full recognition of a long confirmed fact—the actual existence of two Provinces, which both nature and their respective industries had made separate—the West with its cereals, its wines, and its minerals; the East with its pastures and sheep walks; the one occupied by a people principally of Dutch descent, cautiously slow, but sure; the other becoming day by day more and more British in character, conspicuous for enterprise and bent upon success. To the West the Constitutional Ordinance allotted thirty-two members (eight for a Legislative Council, twenty-four for the House of Assembly); to the East twenty-nine members (seven for the Council, twenty-two for the Assembly).

The qualification for the Legislative Council was the possession of fixed, *i.e.*, immoveable property, of the value

* For the years 1858 to 1867 the average annual yield has been 4,000 tons, value £98,443 per year.

unencumbered of £2,000, or property, moveable or immovable, of £4,000, beyond all liabilities. Of the fifteen members of this Chamber or Upper House, four of the West and four of the East, elected by the fewest votes, were to vacate their seats every five years, leaving the remainder to sit for the full term of ten years, thus maintaining Parliamentary Government when the Assembly ceased to exist through the effluxion of time, the period of its sitting being fixed at five years. The franchise was to be enjoyed by all persons who occupied any property of £25 value, or were in receipt of wages and salary, along with board and lodging, equal to the same sum, which, as it excluded neither creed nor colour, amounted almost to universal suffrage. The qualification of members for the Assembly was fixed at the same low rate, and the Sessions were to be held in Cape Town, leaving the venue, however, at the Governor's discretion.* To the members coming from a distance one shilling per mile for travelling expenses to be paid, and one pound per diem for fifty days allowed as subsistence money; but the average length of Session for fifteen years has been one hundred and three days.

These arrangements appear to have satisfied the Western community, although they did not realize the wishes of the East; and after the elections had been completed in each Province, a Parliament was summoned to meet on the 1st of July, when it was opened in person by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Darling, with all the pomp and circumstance fitted for so grave yet joyous an event. Its advent is thus referred to by one of the local journals of the jubilant metropolis, belonging to the party most strenuous and successful in introducing representative institutions:—"Our Parliament is now safely seated; the gallant ship—our most liberal Constitution—has been launched, with a noble crew† of picked men on board.

* In one instance only has this been exercised. In 1861 the Parliament assembled in Graham's Town, "the City of the Settlers," and the Governor, Sir P. Wodehouse, pronounced the trial "a success."

† The names of the first members will be found in the Appendix.

The *aura popularis* (the breath of popular favour) swells the sails. She is bound for the land of improvement, a land containing many provinces. The success of the voyage will depend a good deal on the manner in which she is worked. If Justice is at the helm, with the Public Good for a compass; if Providence is on the look-out, and if every man on board does his duty and entertains through all differences of opinion a generous feeling of good fellowship for those who serve the same master with himself—the People—then we may boast of having combined as many elements of success as were ever ensured for any enterprise of a similar measure.” This panegyric of the Constitution was followed by the same authority by an extremely patronizing allusion to the members from the East:—“Let not the Cape Town gentleman presume upon his advantages, nor the Frontier farmer feel diffidence for want of external refinement.”* A comfortable assurance! But the fact was, that both were equally matched in birth, education, and manners. The history of this first Session, strange to say, affords but little of interest, but the inaugural speech of the Lieutenant-Governor held out something like a bright ray of hope for the Eastern community. “With the object,” said he, “of extending to the inhabitants the benefits of a more prompt and continuous administration, both of civil and criminal justice, Her Majesty approves of two additional Judges and a Solicitor-General, who, it is proposed, shall habitually reside at the seat of the Eastern Government; and it is hoped that the advantages of a local Government may be afforded to its inhabitants as fully as possible without a legislative separation of the Provinces.” The consequence of the sitting of the Parliament at and under the influence of Cape Town, anticipated and deprecated by the people of the East, was now thus early realized. No steps were taken or recommended by the Legislature, and the sum of £2,000 placed upon the Estimates for the two Judges was expunged by Western ascendancy, which was the com-

* Vide *Zuid-Afrikaan* newspaper.

mencement of a long struggle between the Provinces for equal privileges, systematically denied to the Eastern one. Another promise, equally delusive, was held out of the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor, who it was fondly expected would be armed with ample powers so requisite upon the Frontier; but when that officer arrived, it was found that he possessed nothing but the title and the pay.

The earliest proceeding of the Parliament was to choose a Speaker for the House of Assembly, for which a keen contest took place between Mr. John Fairbairn, the talented editor of the *South African Advertiser* newspaper, and Mr. Christoffel Brand, an Advocate of Dutch extraction (Colonial born) of great legal ability, which ended in favour of the last-named gentlemen. The Acts of the new Senate were but few in number—seven. One was for “freedom of speech,” a security largely in demand; another the institution of juries in civil cases when such was desired by litigants—a privilege which even up to this time has been sparingly exercised, the public apparently reposing more confidence in the legal acumen and independence of the Judges than the unlettered wisdom of the community. An Act for protecting English works from foreign reprints, two for monetary purposes for the current year, and one for the Estimates for the following (1855), conclude the series of active legislation. But in this last considerable differences arose between the two Houses, the Legislative Council contending that, although debarred from passing a money Bill, it possessed undoubted right to amend one when brought up before it. Sharp discussions ensued, neither party was willing to give way, and the Bill as amended by the Council was literally thrown out, or down and lost, when the Lieutenant-Governor interposed, and by withdrawing the contested items from the Bill, it passed both branches of the Legislature. It must not here be omitted also to notice that an attempt was made to introduce a *quasi*-Responsible or Government by Party system, a motion being made to the effect that the public officers of Government should be appointed from among the

members of both Houses, and continue to hold office as long as they possessed the confidence of the Legislature; but this extreme measure proved abortive.

On the Eastern border the new, or Cathcart, policy effected a cessation of the usual troubles, and authorized the Governor's reporting favourably of the results of one year's experiment and the hopes he cherished of the continuance of tranquillity. On the 15th April he resigned the command of the forces into the hands of General Jackson, and on the 26th May left the Colony for the Crimean war, where, on the field of Inkerman, he found a soldier's grave, crowned by victory and wept by a grateful nation. *Requiescat in pace.*

The new grantees in the Queen's Town District assembled for the first time on Her Majesty's Birthday, agreeably to the terms of their land tenure, when nearly 500 men met on parade, armed at all points, a muster thought to be very creditable considering they had so recently occupied their farms and had not yet been able to construct shelter for themselves, their families, and stock. Some uneasiness was, however, felt from time to time by an attempt of the ever-plotting Kafir Chiefs to disengage the Fingoes from their loyalty by forming matrimonial alliances between the two peoples hitherto at such deadly enmity, and thus consolidate a power for future mischief; and these intrigues, carried on with extraordinary secrecy for several months, now becoming known, fears, shared in by both the Government and people, were entertained that the boasted submissiveness and satisfied state of the natives were illusory, and that an outbreak was again imminent.

Her Majesty's Commissioner, Sir George Clark, who had been sent out to repudiate the Orange River Sovereignty, had, at the request of Sir G. Cathcart, assumed the functions of government until the arrival of his successor, Sir George Grey, who on the 5th December landed at the Cape.

The other incidents of the year may be epitomized as follows:—The abandonment of that splendid country, the

Orange River Sovereignty,* through a gross ignorance and a disgraceful misstatement of its capabilities, and permitting in its place the formation of the Free State Republic, one of the most imprudent acts ever committed, involving the Cape Colony in entanglements, troubles, and cost, the end and consequence of which cannot be predicted. The arrival of a new Colonial Secretary, Mr. Rawson, known as "Prosperity Rawson." Violent gales in Table Bay, causing the loss of many vessels; and in August the dreadful wreck in Algoa Bay of the troop-ship *Charlotte*, when 62 men, 11 women, 26 children, and some of the crew perished.

* *Vide* Order, 8th April, 1854.

SECTION XVIII.

1855—The new Governor, Sir George Grey—Objects of his system—Meets the Kafirs—His Policy—Recommends introduction of 5,000 Enrolled Pensioners—Avidity of Natives for employment on Public Works—European Medical treatment—Industrial Schools—Kafir Jurisprudence—Its Evils—Alteration proposed and agreed to by Native Chiefs—The Pensioner Immigrant Plan abandoned—The Governor recommends South Africa as a favourable field for Immigrants. 1856—The Governor reports Home prospects of future Peace, but the Kafirs never completely conquered—Native intrigues resumed—The Lung-sickness—Predictions of approaching Hostilities—Kreli plotting again—The Prophet Umlakazi appears—His Vaticinations—Their object—Initiation of the Parliamentary Struggle for Independent Local Government by the inhabitants of the Eastern Province.

Administration of Governor and High Commissioner Sir George Grey, K.C.B.

FROM DECEMBER 5, 1854, TO AUGUST 15, 1861.

THE excitement referred to in the last Section now partly subsided, still leaving the impression it was prudent to maintain such preparations and display of force as would be sufficient to keep in awe both the races—especially the Fingoes—with whom the future relations threatened to be attended with considerable difficulty. Confidence was not, however, restored, and the farmers again began to leave their homesteads, being forewarned that mischief was abroad; and the Lieutenant-Governor considered the emergency so great as to demand reinforcements. Sir G. Grey, too, characterized the position of the Colony “to be now what it had been for some time past—simply an armed truce.” He then sketched out his admirable plan for “gaining influence over all the tribes between the Colony and Natal, by employing the natives upon public works tending to open the country, by establishing institutions for the education of their children and the relief of their sick, by introducing among them institutions

of a civil character suited to their present condition, and by these and other like means to attempt gradually to win them to civilization and Christianity, and thus to change by degrees our at present unconquered and apparently irreclaimable foes into friends who may have common interests with ourselves;" and in accordance with this conception, he proposed to the British Government to sanction an allowance of £40,000 a year from the Imperial Treasury, which he considered might be reduced after three years' trial, and that it would, in a financial point of view, prove "a large saving to Great Britain, compared with the cost of a single month of war." He added that it appeared the Kafirs had entered into a confederacy for mutual aid, that Moshesh, the Basuto, was privy to and party to the design, and that they would demand the restitution of the Amatolas, and if refused, resort to fighting.*

In the month of February, Sir G. Grey met the Gaika Chiefs in the Amatolas, and very judiciously evaded being drawn into any argument, requiring them, if they had complaints, to have them reduced into writing, for it had transpired they intended to take advantage of this occasion to ask for the re-cession of the forfeited territories. On his return to Cape Town, on the 7th March, he submitted to the Home Government "a plan for the complete settlement of the Frontier question," as he said "the state of the country is so critical, its whole future depending upon the promptitude with which measures are now taken to avert the evils which threaten it, I earnestly entreat Her Majesty's Government not to lose a day in carrying out this plan, which is not an expensive one, and has been tried (in New Zealand) and succeeded."

On the 15th March, at the opening of Parliament, he explained the motives which actuated his policy, with the mode of carrying it out. "I propose," said he, "that we should dismiss from our minds the idea of attempting to establish or maintain a system

* *Ide* Despatch, 22nd December, 1854.

of frontier policy, based upon the idea of retaining a vacant tract of territory intervening between ourselves and a barbarous race beyond it, who are to be left in their existing state without any systematic efforts being made to reclaim and civilize them ; the necessary results of such a policy appear to me to be that such a people as the Kafirs, so abandoned to themselves, will break in upon us whenever it suits their caprice or convenience, whilst the vacant territory would afford a convenient place for them to harbour in until they ascertained upon what point of our frontier they could most readily and properly direct their blows, and ultimately an easy and unoccupied line of escape for them into their own country, with the booty which they might have secured. I would rather that we should with full yet humble confidence accept the duties and responsibilities of our position—that we should admit that we cannot live in immediate contact with any race or portion of our fellow men, whether civilized or uncivilized, neglecting our duties towards them without suffering those evils which form the fitting punishment of our neglect and indifference. * * * *

“What, therefore, I propose in this respect is, that availing ourselves of the fertility of British Kaffraria, and its power of maintaining a dense population, we should fill it up with a considerable number of Europeans of a class fitted to increase our strength in that country, and that at the same time unremitting efforts should be made to raise the Kafirs in Christianity and civilization by the establishment amongst them, and beyond our boundary, of missions connected with industrial schools, by employing them upon public works, and by other similar means.”

He then said he had asked the Home Government for one thousand enrolled pensioners, to be sent out, with their families, on the New Zealand regulations, to be ultimately increased to five thousand, all married men, to be located in British Kaffraria and the several Military posts, a “force which will in all probability prevent hostilities breaking out, or crushing them in the bud, and set the whole Military force free for operating against the

enemy." He then went into detail regarding the disposal of these men, who should volunteer for service in South Africa. "Upon their first arrival they will be located with their officers in the immediate vicinity of a Military post. Each man will have an acre of good land, with a cottage upon it, allotted to him, and these villages will be so arranged that they will, whenever practicable, form, together with the Military post, a continuous series of defences. The condition of their service will be that they serve for seven years; that they never go more than five miles from their village; that they assemble under arms for church parade every Sunday; that they serve twelve days in every year without pay whenever called upon for that purpose, and at all other times when called out for a stipulated rate of pay."

In submitting this scheme to the British Government, which, he assured it, if adopted together with the measures of establishing industrial schools and hospitals and the employment of natives on public works, "he would promise to hold himself responsible for the future peace and prosperity of the country, and the rapid and continuous reduction of the heavy cost which has so long been entailed upon the British Treasury."

The other topics connected with the maintenance of the tranquillity of the country recommended to the notice of the Parliament, were an increase of the Armed and Mounted Frontier Police, the establishment of a Burgher Force for the whole Colony, a Fingo Militia, Missions and Industrial Schools; besides the entire separation of British Kaffraria from the Colony, an increase of the Dutch Reformed clergy, an addition to the Judicial Bench, immigration, a subsidy to the Orange River Free State, railroads, and steam communication with England.

The Parliament responded to some of these matters by Acts for the increase of import dues, the better organization of the Frontier Police, encouraging immigration from Europe, better administration of justice, and for organizing the inhabitants for internal defence of the

respective divisions; but this last, intended for the protection of the whole Colony, was so mutilated in passing through its stages that it became unavailable.

His Excellency's idea of employing native labour in British Kaffraria was attended with extraordinary success. The Kafirs of the most unruly tribes, never before disposed or accustomed to work, were clamorous for labour even beyond the means of employment, and the Chiefs evinced anxiety for aid to construct works for the purpose of irrigation, and were begging for ploughs. In a report of the 12th December, it was shown that above 900 natives had been employed at a cost of £1,889 (at a rate of 6d. and 9d. per diem with rations) on Government buildings, watercourses, and roads, equally valuable for times of peace or war.

Another plan of the Governor's took great hold upon the Kafir mind, showing the readiness with which they submitted themselves to European medical treatment in preference to that of the witch doctor with his diagnostic system of "smelling out," and pretending to cure disease by charms. So early as June, a number of the diseased natives had been successfully treated, and confidence in the skill of the medical officer (Dr. Fitzgerald) had so succeeded even among the tribes beyond the Kei, that in one quarter of the following year no less than 2,278 coloured patients resorted to him for relief, of which 1,579 were Kafirs.*

* A curious letter on the subject of these cures was addressed to Her Majesty the Queen on the 23rd June, 1856, by a Kafir, in true Kafir style:—

"I am very thankful to you, dearest Queen Victoria, because you have sent for me a good doctor, a clever man. I was sixteen years blind, Mother and Queen, but now I see perfectly. I see everything. I can see the stars and the moon and the sun. I used to be led before, but now Mother, O! Queen, I am able to walk myself. Let God bless you as long as you live on earth. Let God bless Mother. Thou must not be tired to bear our infirmities, O! Queen Victoria.

"MAHLATI ZIKALI.

"Translation.—Lot Hrayi (Kafir), Interpreter to the
Hospital, King William's Town."

The evils of the system of Kafir jurisprudence, as administered by the native Chiefs, now occupied the attention of Sir George Grey. At the close of the last war, the Kafirs were informed by Sir G. Cathcart they would be placed under the government of their own Chiefs, and under their own laws and usages, which Sir George said "made the paramount institutions of the country make provision for legalizing the indulgence of the Chiefs and the great people in every vice of which the most depraved nature is capable, and for subjecting a whole nation to the worst and most degrading tyranny and oppression on the part of the few, rendering the introduction of Christianity and civilization hopeless." The fines of their courts of so-called justice, filling the exchequer of the Chiefs, were generally unjust, always severe, and were distributed unfairly. Accusations were most frequently directed against the richer natives on the ready charge of witchcraft, the whole tending to train up a poor and restless race of robbers who, in the vicinage of a community wealthy in flocks and herds, constantly plundered them. To remove the mischievous bearing of this system, the Governor devised a remedy. After estimating the value of the fines received by the Chiefs under the existing rule, he offered instead a monthly allowance to be paid to them and their Councillors at a stipulated rate as an equivalent, so that all fines and fees should become part of the Crown revenue, the Chiefs and Councillors still to sit and determine cases, but to be assisted by a European Magistrate.

These proposed arrangements were submitted to the leading Chiefs of the respective seven clans of the cis-Keian territory, or British Kaffraria, for consideration, and they, with their Councillors and people, at public meetings,* agreed to and ratified the conditions, eleven of the heads of the tribes accepting each a subsidy varying from £75 to £30 according to their relative ranks, amounting altogether to £580 per annum.

* September 27, and October 9, 16, 18, 21, 25, and 26, 1855.

But Sir George Grey's grand and best conceived project was for populating the Kaffrarian territory with Pensioners from England, and for whose reception he had already begun to form villages, so sanguine was he of its obtaining favour. This, however, was unhappily doomed to failure, for on the 12th of August Sir W. Molesworth informed him that, "although printed copies of the terms had been circulated in every district throughout the United Kingdom, only 107 candidates had offered themselves, and it was impossible that that part of his plan could be realized, persons wishing to leave Great Britain far preferring to seek their fortunes elsewhere." This unexpected blow was received by the Governor with deep regret, and in reply (8th December) he remarked that probably the now altered state of affairs upon that frontier might modify objections; that already he had a thousand applications for farms; that immigrants to this border had succeeded as well, and some better, than those in other parts of the world; that he wished to see established a system which would relieve Great Britain from having to maintain so large a standing army in the Colony, and felt assured the diffusion of a true knowledge of its state and prosperity would have the effect of making it a favourite field of emigration.

The Governor's opening speech to Parliament had the effect of raising high hopes in the breasts of the people of the East, when he told the representatives, "the form of the Government of the Eastern Districts will be the first question to occupy your attention." Accordingly they repeated their demand, which had been refused in former years, for making Queen's Town (one of the most populous and important border districts) an electoral division; but this was met by a decided negative. They then asked that the next Session should be held somewhere in the East (a power to direct which lay with the Governor), but this also was overruled; but one of the acts it will be admitted was favourable, that for a Mounted Police on the Frontier (a body of 550 men, under Commandant Currie), which has

been of essential service to the whole country on the Eastern and North-western boundaries, as well as for Imperial purposes in the Transgariepine regions.

Another point of interest in the Parliamentary proceedings of this year was the effort made to resuscitate under a more popular form the Courts of Landdrost and Heemraaden, which had been abrogated in 1828. Mr. Rietz, a member of the Legislature, now sought to re-establish these assemblies by making the members elective, and a Bill for the purpose was passed, by which the districts or counties were divided into six wards, each sending one member to manage local affairs, such as roads (excepting main), pounds, trespasses, and schools, but having no judicial powers like the old Boards. One of the objects in founding or reviving these institutions was said to be the education of the community for the exercise of constitutional privileges, to create an interest in public affairs among a people rather sluggish, and accustom them to the discussion of matters affecting their peculiar interests; but as defect clings to the best intended plans of man, they do not appear to have realized the expectations of their projector.

1856.—The Governor had reported home that the prospects were favourable for peace; but there were still, however, “breakers ahead,” although unseen and unheard, when he penned his despatches in the past year. Notwithstanding the apparent calm and the seeming cheerful acquiescence of the Chiefs to receive European Magistrates, it was patent to many that the Kafirs had never been thoroughly conquered. In the three preceding wars, mercy too early intruded when justice ought to have repelled her for a time until subjugation was complete, and the warlike spirit was only latent. In January there was exhibited such a strong tendency to outbreak, that the Lieutenant-General on the Frontier urged the necessity of large reinforcements, and this uneasy feeling was maintained throughout the greater part of the year. There was sufficient evidence to show that a combination

was forming at the instigation of Kreli, connived at by Moshesh,* with the British Kaffrarian Chiefs, now subjects, and the 400 rebel Hottentots of 1850, who had retired beyond the Kei, declaring themselves an independent nation, and using their utmost efforts to debauch the Cape Corps Hottentots and others from their allegiance, in order to overwhelm the Colony.

The Governor opened the third Session of the Parliament on the 13th March, when he brought to its knowledge the disappointment of his hopes with regard to the introduction of Military Pensioners; touched upon the necessity of meeting the difficulty by enrolling persons already in the Colony, and his other measures to protect the inhabitants from Kafir incursions; again recommended immigration, saying that "with a very large practical acquaintance with Australia, this country affords equal advantages to European settlers," &c.; deplored the loss sustained by the Colonists by lung-sickness, by which many thousands of cattle and horses had perished;† recommended a Colonial Census being taken; considered the state of native relations critical, but still doubted the alleged native conspiracy; and congratulated the country that Colonial exports had increased forty per cent. within one year.

His Excellency, within a short time after the delivery of the speech, had reason to distrust his opinion with regard to the native intrigues and conspiracies, and found it requisite to send to Mauritius for the service of a regiment to meet attack. In May the Lieutenant-General

* Moshesh, it appears, had represented to the native Chiefs that the Berea affair had been a mighty victory, and that the English had been worsted by the Russians in the Crimea. (*Blue Book* presented to Parliament, 21st March, 1857.)

† The lung-sickness in cattle is supposed to have been imported from Holland, in the introduction of pure stock. It extended to Kafirland, and caused the death of a large quantity there also. The returns furnished to the Parliament in the year 1855 showed the losses in this description of stock suffered by the Colonists to have been 92,793 head, and by a similar complaint recurring almost periodically, of 64,850 horses.

reiterated his belief of the inclination and determination of the Kafir race to make common cause against the Colony, and asked for at least four battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry; but the Governor did not think there was such immediate necessity for this large augmentation of the force, especially as the Home Government had already solicited his opinion on the possibility of establishing on the Kafir frontier the men and officers of the Anglo-German Legion about to be released at the conclusion of the war in the Crimea. This sort of "God-send" so soon after the failure of the Pensioner scheme was at once favourably entertained; sites which had been prepared for the Pensioners, the Governor reported would do as well for the Legion. There was abundance of good land for their location, and he asked the Parliament, at the time in session, for supplies, which were cheerfully granted, accompanied by thanks to Her Majesty's Government for its consideration.

Kreli, the restless author of the present agitation, with surpassing craft and cunning similar to that of the Gaikas in 1819, anxious to stir up the British Kaffrarian Chiefs to commit themselves with the Colony and thus provoke hostilities, employed a powerful agent for his nefarious scheme. He set up an impostor named Umlakazi, a great witch doctor, who, by feigning prophetic powers, soon gained unbounded influence over the superstitious and easily-deluded people. This man, under tutelage, gave out he had intercourse by visions with the spirits of the Chiefs who for generations had ruled Kafirland; that they were all ready to return and bring with them the Russians, who were formerly Kafir warriors, killed in the Colonial wars—for they were not white, as represented, but black men—and with them would come an improved race of cattle in countless numbers; that Lynx, the prophet of 1819, the late seer Umlangeni, with old Gaika and other Chiefs, were fighting the English over the water (Crimea); that besides these, others—as Magondo and Gazela—had risen from the dead, and that the Colonists would receive no more aid from England. To propitiate their ancestors

and hasten their advent, he enjoined his believers to abstain from tilling the ground, to part with their personal ornaments, to destroy their stores of grain and all their cattle—saving, however, their horses, arms and accoutrements; upon obedience to which, there would be a general resurrection of their progenitors, when the whites and unbelievers would be got rid of by supernatural means.

This deep-laid piece of Kafir cunning took effect with the common people, but the Chiefs had a higher object, which was, that on the means of subsistence being dissipated, they knew that starving and desperate men would fiercely rush on and attack the scattered farmers on a vast and extended frontier, the pillage affording them ample supplies, while their own cattle being destroyed they would be relieved from their care, which in former wars was found to be an embarrassment. The attack, if thus made upon the Colony, would of course be resented, and give a specious excuse for the combination to interfere, and then, if successful, the Chiefs would regain their ancient independence, the Paramount Krelis his supremacy, and the Gaikas their forfeited lands in the Chumie and Amatolas, lying so convenient for plunder and so fitted for concealment.

The chronicles of this year's Parliament, although productive of numerous Acts, afford but little to record. Queen's Town, indeed, got electoral privileges, but ungraciously, being tacked on to another division of lesser importance; but the Session has at least the celebrity of being the first when a decided attempt was made by the Eastern population to procure the much-coveted boon of local self-government, and a bill was brought into the House of Assembly for independent management of its affairs, but met the fate of denial by a large Western majority. This was the commencement of the struggle between the Provinces known as "The Territorial Question."

The recognition of Natal as a Government independent of the Cape, to which it had been but loosely attached, took place in August of this year.

SECTION XIX.

1857.—Head-quarters of the German Legion arrive—Kafirs slaughter their Cattle—Kreli's attempted Confederacy of Native Chiefs—The Governor watches and prepares for Hostilities—The Prophet's great failure—Disturbances ensue—Governor visits Kafirland—His measures—Awful Famine and Destitution of the Natives—Terrible decrease of the Kafir Population—Governor opens Cape Parliament—Railways proposed—Table Bay Harbour of Refuge—Claims of Algoa Bay for a similar work—Parliamentary Debates on Separation of the Provinces—Indian Mutiny—Vadanna attacked—Macomo tried for Murder, and convicted—Chiefs sent prisoners to Robben Island—Governor Grey's persistent attempts to populate British Kaffraria—Synod of the English Episcopal Church.

1857.—The head-quarters of the much-desired German Legion, under the Baron Stutterheim, arrived in the Colony on the 28th January, a portion of the force having preceded them, and were already cantoned at East London. These the Governor had ordered to occupy certain positions as a precautionary measure in case of emergency.*

The influence of the prophet rapidly increased, and the number of his adherents included the greater part of the people of Kreli and the Gaikas. Slaughtering cattle, which had begun in the past July, continued to be carried on in almost every kraal, and there was high feasting in all Kafirland. Emissaries were dispatched from Kreli with the behests of the wonderful seer to Moshesh, to the remote Faku, east of St. John's River, to the Tambookies, and Her Majesty's sable, but not over loyal, subjects in British Kaffraria. Faku, however, did not see the wizard's directions with a friendly aspect; Moshesh waited for "something to turn up," the Tambookies were malingerers, but most of the Kafir lieges trembled and obeyed.

* In all there arrived about 3,000, but most injudiciously without a fair proportion of women and children, which much impeded the settlements. The numbers were—men, including officers, 2,351; women, 373; children, 178.

The Governor, watching the progress of this extraordinary delusion, continued to prepare all the munitions necessary in the event of war, but calmly, imperceptibly, and without any outward show to alarm the Kafirs and precipitate hostilities. With the prescience belonging to his character he foresaw that the wild sacrifices making by the natives would soon render them more and more unfit to cope with the Colony, even under the pressure of that hunger, the desperate nature of which the Chiefs had reckoned upon to impel the inroad; and he was made acquainted with the fact that already a schism had arisen among the people, who had ranged themselves into two parties, the believers and unbelievers.

Pressed by the importunities of the people, after some hesitation, Umlakazi fixed upon the 18th of February for the realization of his vaticinations. On that morning, he gave out, the sun on rising would wander for a time about the heavens, and then, contrary to custom, set in the east amid dread darkness. His believers were commanded to attire themselves, for the sake of contra-distinction, in white blankets and be ornamented with new brass wire rings; then a hurricane would ensue and destroy all the unbelievers. Their ancestors would then come forth, bringing with them incredible wealth to be shared by the faithful, who, restored to youth and beauty, would revel in a Kaffrarian paradise, finding their gardens (left uncultivated by his directions) stocked with corn to satiety. To give *éclat* to the distribution of the riches brought by their illustrious forefathers, two suns would appear on the Tabindoda Mountain, when the white men would walk into the sea, which would open a road for them until they came to "Illongo," where his Satanic Majesty would (politely?) receive them. A few days previous to that appointed for the wonders, the followers of the prophet had devoured the remainder of their cattle and destroyed all the subsistence left, and on the evening of the 17th they shut themselves up with confidence in their huts, in tremulous expectancy.

The morrow arrived, one of heavy mist, quite assuring. The day, however, wore on, but the ancestors did not "put in an appearance;" the people listened, from "early morn to dewy eve," but not a hoof was heard, or even a faint bellow. The predicted darkness sent the fog only as its representative; the hurricane was lazy; the two solar luminaries for the Tabindoda forgot the appointment, or mistook the place of rendezvous or the hour. Old Sol laboured through his accustomed course without the least staggering, and set due west very soberly at the regular time; the gardens remained bare, barren wildernesses. Night fell in quiet, and on the following dawn the poor deluded wretches emerged from their dwellings downcast, destitute, desperate, and demoniacal. Still credulity held its sway, "faith abounded;" the prophet attributed failure to some neglect of his injunctions, postponed the resurrection day for a month, promising a solar eclipse "in addition to the other attractions."

The Governor arrived at King William's Town on the 22nd, four days after the disappointment, when a state of violent tumult had already commenced; the believers, some two-thirds of the population, were preparing to pillage their incredulous countrymen and the Europeans; collisions had taken place, robberies were frequent on the high roads, and a captain of the German Militia and a private of the 98th Regiment were barbarously murdered, while the unbelievers who had cultivated their gardens and preserved their cattle were in the greatest consternation. To meet this contingency measures were at once taken to provide employment on public works for the destitute, arrangements made to secure the principal highways and to enable the unbelievers to resist and put down the famishing marauders.

The bubble burst, the crisis passed, the tribes broke up, the foodless abandoning their chiefs and scattering themselves to obtain support. In Kafirland the destitution was so complete that one of the greatest Chiefs, who had formerly owned an immense herd of cattle, had not a single head

left.* None of the others had more than three or four; a leading Chief had to descend to common labour on the roads for subsistence; the country was covered throughout the day by crowds of women and children digging for wild roots to stave off starvation; a few of the men resorted to suicide to escape the agony of hunger and the scenes of distress; large numbers were wisely allowed to enter the Colony, where they were dispersed and indentured for three years to the farmers and others, by whom they were hospitably received; thousands perished in British Kaffraria and Kreli's territory, and those who came out were in a piteously attenuated state of want, hundreds dying on the roads of the Colony from exhaustion, especially children. Mr. Holden, in his *Past and Future of the Kafir Races*, states the population of British Kaffraria alone, on the 1st January, 1857, at 104,721—on the 31st December, same year, as 37,697, showing a decrease of 67,024; and it is said that Kreli's tribes must have lost about the same. Of the survivors the Colony absorbed some 30,000. Some are said to have joined Moshesh, leaving, however, a frightful number who must have met death in one of its most appalling aspects. This diminution, be it noted, was effected by their own acts, and not, as such depopulations are usually put down by certain writers, to the cruelty of European intruders.

A Mr. A. Kennedy, an eye-witness of the events referred to, gives the following graphic statement:—

“ Whether the Chiefs had communicated the secret of the intended war to their subjects I am unable to say, but their demeanour at this time evidently showed that they were acquainted with it. Always proud and haughty in their bearing towards the white man, their pride and hauteur were now much increased. With their karosses folded round them, they stalked majestically along, scowling at you, if you happened to meet them, with malignant hatred in their eyes. Fat and saucy from his unusual feasting, in a high state of excitement with the thought of the impending struggle, and of the fine fat herds of cattle

* A statement was made at the time that, taking the number of hides sold to traders, no less than 130,300 cattle had perished, the greater portion having been killed by orders of the impostor.

which he believed were soon to gladden his longing gaze, it was at this time you might see the Kafir in his glory.

"The cottage in which I was then residing was only a stone's-throw from the 'winkel' to which the Gaikas mostly brought their cattle for sale, and I had, therefore, an excellent opportunity of witnessing their proceedings. The place at this time was like a fair. Kafirs, cattle, and goats were in crowds. The cattle were sold for about 5s. each, but the trader there obtained by barter one hundred head for 1s. a piece. He gave 6d. for hides, of which he used to send off several wagon-loads daily, and I heard that he cleared £40,000 by this business. Goats were sold from 9d. to 1s. 6d. at first, but at last became unsaleable, and the place was literally overrun with them. Most of the Kafirs bought new blankets with the produce of the sale of their cattle, and it was an amusing sight to watch these fine fellows trying on their purchases. Models for a statuary, with muscles fully developed, such as would excite the admiration of the anatomist, they threw themselves unconsciously into the most graceful attitudes; holding the blanket in their hands by two corners, and throwing back their extended arms, they stood for a moment like bronze statues, displaying their powerful and athletic frames to the greatest advantage; then folded it tightly round them, repeating this operation several times, until apparently satisfied with the fit. After all this excitement came the reaction. A Kafir's food consists of mealies, *i.e.*, Kafir corn, pumpkin, and sour milk, with an occasional feast of beef or goat's meat on special occasions, such as a sacrifice or a wedding, &c. The Kafirs had not only destroyed their cows, which supplied them with one of their principal articles of food, their oxen and goats, but also, in accordance with Umlakazi's command, they had not cultivated the ground, and starvation now stared them in the face. I shudder still when I call to mind the dreadful scenes of misery I witnessed during this sad time. Such edible roots and bulbs as they could find in the 'veld' served them for food for a time. The favourite of these was the tap root of very young mimosa trees, such as were from one to two feet high. The veld in many parts where the mimosa flourished became so full of holes, where these had been dug up, that it was quite dangerous to ride over it. A tuber, belonging, I believe, to the convolvulus tribe, about as large as a small potato, and not unpalatable, was also eaten by them. It is known to them by the name of 'Tgoutsi.' This kind of food, however, rather hastened their fate, for it brought on dysentery, and they became living skeletons; numbers of them died, and Kafir skulls and bones were strewn over the fields. They would doubtless nearly all have perished thus miserably had not the Government interfered and saved a great many of them. They were told to come to the commissioners and they would be fed, and when strong enough to travel, be sent into the colony to work. The Gaikas came to Brownlee in great numbers; many, however, perished by the way, too weak to proceed further. Some I

have seen drop down dead before my door, when almost at their journey's end. Many died after they arrived, too far gone for the nourishment then given to be of any service; but the greater number recovered, and were dispatched in parties into the colony. A Kafir is naturally generous: give one a piece of bread or tobacco, he divides it with his companion; but hunger makes him selfish. I have seen mothers snatch bread out of their starving children's mouths, and it has been said, but I cannot vouch for the truth of this, that one or two instances occurred of mothers devouring their infant children. This is too horrible to dwell upon."

All fear of war being thus removed by the suicidal acts of a brave but misguided people, whose Chiefs, chafing under restraints put upon their licentious habits, wonted tyranny, and lost independence, had failed to drive their minions into war, the Governor was released from his duties on the Frontier, and opened the annual Session of Parliament at Cape Town; the principal topics of his speech being the state of the Border and its neighbourhood, and the policy he had initiated. He also directed the attention of the representatives to the subject of railways for both Provinces, surveys having been made, with estimated costs for the Western Province £633,750, East £604,303. With the hope of inducing the House of Assembly to take effectual measures for filling up the continually assailed Frontier with men fitted to defend it, and with it the whole Colony, he asked for a grant of £100,000 to introduce immigrants; but with a prudence bordering on parsimony only a moiety was accorded. With great liberality, however, they gave him nearly £40,000 to build new and repair and enlarge old prisons. £500,000 was voted for a Western railway from Cape Town to Wellington, about fifty-eight miles, but under a very objectionable mode, subjecting the landed proprietors through which the rail should pass to a sub-guarantee of three per cent. upon their properties, the general revenue bearing the remaining three per cent.

Another great work, contemplated even as long before as 1819, was at length practically entered upon by the passing of an Act by Parliament to authorize raising money for the construction of a harbour of refuge in Table

Bay. This undertaking, which ought to have been an Imperial and not a purely Colonial one, of course found especial favour with the inhabitants of the Metropolis, whose commerce was now being outrivalled by the Eastern Province, as the Easterns considered it a sacrifice of the interests of the Colony at large, for they argued—not without reason—that, as the great majority of disabled ships did not come down the Atlantic to the Cape, but from the East by the Southern Ocean, the true position for a refuge harbour was Algoa Bay, or some other port to the eastward of Cape Agulhas. The influence of a Cape Town Parliament, however, turned the scale in favour of the city, as all measures of the kind will do where conflicting interests exist between the Provinces.

The great question agitating the people of the East for so many years, so strongly urged by them upon the home authorities, as has been recorded in preceding pages, was, on the 8th of May, in this the fourth Session, again introduced into the Legislature. The Hon. Mr. Godlonton, in the Council Chamber, moved for the adoption of the following propositions in favour of separation:—It is highly conducive to the general interest the Colony should be divided; the rapidly growing increase of the Eastern Province claims for it its own administration of local affairs; a federative union of the two Provinces should take place; the time had arrived for Parliament to take it under consideration, and he defined the subjects which should be set apart for a central authority. The fate of this fresh attempt to procure a measure of justice so persistently demanded, so urgently pressed, and so long delayed, was easily to be foreseen. *All* the Western members voted against, while *all* the Easterns voted for its adoption.

The most important consequence of this debate was the resignation of four of the Frontier members of Council—Messrs. Godlonton, Cock, Wood, and Fleming—who considered such a step the best adapted to bring to issue, one way or the other, the all-absorbing question. The recorded reasons of these gentlemen for secession were, “That the

Parliament, as already constituted, has failed to realize the just and reasonable expectations of the people, and that measures of the most vital moment to the safety, progress, and good government of the Colony, and especially to the Eastern Province, have been either vexatiously obstructed or entirely rejected by it."

The advantage of maintaining the Cape Colony as a Military outstation by the Imperial Government was never more forcibly proved than in this year, as on the arrival of the almost paralyzing intelligence of the Indian Revolt, the Governor was able at once to dispatch a considerable force to assist in quelling the rebellion, and to send two thousand horses for the service. The Volunteers of the Cape metropolis* most loyally and meritoriously undertook the performance of garrison duty during the absence of the troops, and there is no doubt that the assistance thus given to the Indian Government so readily, and from a distance so comparatively short, was of very great value.

With the exception of raiding on the part of two free-booting Chiefs, named Vadanna and Quesha, with 900 fighting men, who infested the upper parts of White Kei territory, quiet was again restored to the Border after the subsidence of the Prophet mania; but these troublesome robbers were attacked by a force of the Frontier Mounted Police and a body of Burghers, in August, under Commandant Currie, driven over the Indwe, and the fugitives sought and received shelter in the country of Kreli.

A terrible Nemesis now began to overtake the Kafir Chiefs; Macomo, the active agent in all the Border disturbances since the year 1827 among the Gaika clans, committed a deliberate murder upon one of the natives, for which offence he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death; but the extreme penalty was commuted for imprisonment for twenty years, and he was sent to Robben Island, where soon were also imprisoned with him Umhala, Pato, Vadanna, Quesha, Xiampi, while Tola was afterwards shot in a foray.

* The Cape Royal Rifles.

To fill up the territory in front, the Government having abandoned the idea of sending out more immigrants, His Excellency, in order to remedy the evils already mentioned of the small number of females attached to the Legion, and the want of an effective population, determined to introduce into each of the Military villages a number of German cultivators of the soil, with their families ; arrangements were therefore immediately entered into for this necessary purpose, and in June in the following year the first batch, in number 380, arrived, and were soon followed by others.

In the month of February the Bishop of Cape Town, who had now been a resident in the metropolis for nine years, summoned a Synod, lay and clerical, which was opened with all the solemnities befitting so grave an occasion. His Lordship's (the title being acquiesced in out of courtesy) charge was lengthy and of great interest, comprising the various subjects connected with the inauguration of English episcopacy in South Africa. The conclave lasted about a fortnight, but three clergymen having disputed the right as well as the expediency of convening such a court, absented themselves, a circumstance which led to legal proceedings within the Colony and before the Privy Council, which has had the effect of loosening the tie between the Establishment in the Mother Country and that of South Africa.

SECTION XX.

1858—Kreli expelled over the Bashee for ever—His Country proposed to be occupied by Kafirs, Fingoes, and Europeans—Governor's Prorogation Speech—Acts of Parliament—Orange Free State suggests Federation—Small Pox and its Ravages—Dinner to Dr. Livingstone—Library, Museum, and Statue to Governor Grey—Codification of Colonial Law. 1859—Governor recommends Parliament to consider subject of Federation—Report Select Committee on Frontier Government.—Nature of Evidence collected, but Committee omit the matter of Federation—Increase of Commerce and Wealth—Immigration Vote—Cape and Wellington Railway commenced—Sir G. Grey recalled—Disease in Vines. 1860—Usury Laws declared of no effect—Parliament—Responsible Government—Separation League—Governor Grey reinstated—His return—Knighthood bestowed on Colonists—Arrival of Prince Alfred—His reception and progresses—British Kaffraria erected into a Colony. 1861—Parliamentary Session—State of Finances—Petitions for Separation, &c.—Sir G. Grey on impossibility of confining the limits of British Possessions—He leaves the Colony for New Zealand.

1858.—The Chief Kreli, instigator of the late terrible catastrophe, unsubdued by misfortune, still cherished the same dangerous disposition. Notwithstanding the depopulation of his own and the Gaika territory, and the loss of his wealth in cattle, this irreclaimable barbarian was discovered to be keeping up his intrigues and circulating among his people news that every one of the British troops had been called out of England to India, and had there been beaten; that the soldiers had been withdrawn from the Colony to the same place, horses and all. It was therefore, he urged, a pity, while a race similar to their own were overpowering the English, they themselves were just now unable to follow up their advantages; but he was preparing the means and watching an opportunity for bringing on a war. To chastise this insidious Chief, undeceive his retainers, and prove to both the Colony was strong enough to punish and break up the mischievous gang collecting around him, His Excellency dispatched an expedition under Major Gawler and Commandant

Currie, who on the 25th February, after some considerable resistance, drove them, along with Kreli, across the Bashee River; and to prevent their return, the Governor designed the plan of filling up the right bank of that stream with some 5,000 or 6,000 friendly Kafirs and Fingoes, mixed with Europeans also, under a British Magistrate, for whom there was ample verge in a very valuable tract of country, salubrious and possessing magnificent pastures, well watered and fertile. This scheme unfortunately, through want of sympathy and knowledge on the part of the home authorities, failed; Kreli, who was to be driven out "for ever" (a term in South African diplomacy interpreted much in the same sense, right or wrong, as in polemics, as "for a period," "an age," and not perpetual), was within a few years after permitted to return, thus giving him and his people a high opinion of the white man's consistency and the value of his threats.

The Parliamentary business of the Session of this year affords but few items of interest; the Governor in his parting speech eulogized it for its zeal, freedom from party spirit, wisdom, and moderation, and expressed his belief that the Cape Colonists were fitted to use, and wisely, their liberal Constitution. The Acts, although numerous, were of no especial import, with the exception of the establishment of some Periodical Courts of Magistracy, thus bringing justice to the doors of the inhabitants, the dissolution of the old Road Board (whose obligations, amounting to £21,250, were taken over, and thus commenced the Colonial Debt, now above a million), and the regulation of weights and measures by introducing the Imperial system. An Act was also passed for creating Education Boards in field-cornetcies, towns, and villages, for which fit machinery has not generally been found, and a Board of Public Examiners in Literature and Science, of the practical benefit of which grave doubts have been entertained.

A movement of the utmost importance was made about the middle of the current year by the Volksraad or Council of the Orange Free State: no less than the expression of

its opinion that a federative alliance with the Colony would be advantageous to both, and which so gratified the Colonists of the seaport in Algoa Bay that they addressed the Governor on the possibility of re-annexing that State on the federative principle. Governor Grey was favourable to the scheme, and, in a reply to a private despatch of the preceding 6th September, from England, calling upon him for an expression of his views upon the policy of incorporating British Kaffraria with the "Cape Colony, and, if possible, of uniting all Her Majesty's dominions in South Africa under some common and, of course, free Government," propounded a plan of federal union. This state paper is remarkable for the clear views and sagacious system he offered in detail. In the first place the Governor tried to disabuse the popular English mind that "the expenditure of British money during wars made the fortunes of the inhabitants, and that they therefore encouraged such wars often in the most profligate and unscrupulous manner." He denied that "the occupation by Great Britain of the country beyond the Orange River had been a bubble and a farce—that the country was a desert—that it never would produce wool," and showed the dismemberment carried out against the wishes of the Transgariep white population was a "mistaken" policy; that Her Majesty's possessions here, Natal, British Kaffraria, and the Cape Colony, still left to her "are of great and yearly increasing value, and may be made valuable to an almost indefinite extent, and that the people do not desire Kafir wars;" he said he thought "that probably the present Cape Colony could be broken into two or three States, and that representatives sent from the respective Legislatures would, conjointly with the Governor, settle all matters of detail without trouble to the Home Government in relation to them."

The Cape Colony, possessing the most salubrious climate in the world, was now visited, after an immunity of eighteen years, by that terrible scourge, the small-pox, supposed to have been introduced at Table Bay by an emigrant vessel in the month of July. In Cape Town

it found the streets, alleys, and small tenements ill-drained and devoid of sufficient ventilation, and it laid hold of the labouring population, and especially the Malays, with fearful rapidity. By September, the epidemic became so virulent and fatal, sparing no class, colour, or community, that it was found necessary to parcel out the twelve municipal wards among as many medical gentlemen, and by whom vaccination was generously and gratuitously practised, which had some effect, although it carried off in the metropolis and its environs full 2,000 patients between July and December. One thing must be added to the credit of the citizens, that they furnished numerous instances of rare devotion and benevolence, risking their own lives, and in some cases not escaping the penalty, by attending the poor and sick with no reward beyond that of an approving conscience. From the Cape, the pestilence spread into almost all the country districts, but without that violence with which it was attended in the metropolis.

In the early part of this year the celebrated traveller, Dr. Livingstone, who had crossed the African continent from St. Paul de Loando to the mouths of the Zambezi, and discovered its magnificent falls (named by him, after the Sovereign, "The Victoria") was entertained at a great public banquet in the Exchange of the metropolis, where was gathered all the *élite* of the community, including the Governor, who paid especial honour to the enterprising guest, who besides other marks of approbation received the more substantial reward of 800 sovereigns, presented in a silver casket. Another event of considerable interest to the scientific and literary members of the community took place at the close of the year, and that was the removal of the Library and Museum into a beautiful structure in the Government Gardens of Cape Town. But it is a matter of regret that the site chosen, although adapted to the quiet-loving student, is one by which its beauties are concealed, being buried in a thick cluster of foliage and masked by the English Episcopal Church. It is said to contain 40,000 volumes, besides the valuable

collection presented by the Governor of most rare manuscripts, scarce editions, and works chiefly in dead languages, unfortunately not likely worthily to be appreciated by a population whose principal pursuits are almost strictly mercantile. A statue was erected to the generous Governor, but with questionable taste was elevated with its back to the institution he had done so much to foster.

In the preceding year a Commission had been appointed to collect all the stray and loose Laws and Ordinances in force within the Colony, and a Report was now made in November, under the hands of the Judges, the Colonial Secretary, and Attorney-General, and thus the mass of former legislation became codified into a work of great value to the profession and the public.

1859.—The Governor opened the first Session of the Second Parliament on the 16th March, and having informed the representatives he had, as already stated, received a message from the Free State Government to ascertain if the Colony was disposed to promote a federal union, and an inquiry whether they would appoint a Commission to meet its deputation to agree upon preliminary terms, said the present Session would afford a convenient opportunity for considering the whole question of the possibility of uniting the several portions of South Africa under some common Government, adding, “ You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain, and upon the inhabitants of the Colony, if you could succeed in devising a form of federative union under which the several Provinces composing it should have full and free scope of action left to them through their own local Governments and Legislatures. It would train a number of the inhabitants to take general views upon the highest subjects relating to the general welfare. No wars could be entered upon but with the consent of the General Government. Under such a system additional security would be obtained throughout all South Africa for life and property, the greatest confidence would be reposed in the decisions of the Courts of Justice constituted by the General Government, an additional stimulus and encouragement

given to talent, increased facilities given to trade and commerce; prosperity and contentment would also follow from a fair proportional application of the general revenue;" and then he goes on to depict the costs of "a South Africa broken up in various European and Native States, some without revenue, involved in intestine and foreign disputes, drifting into an uncertain and gloomy future," and he asked the Cape representatives to decide upon this question, and especially British Kaffraria, how it is to be incorporated so as to secure its own interests and those of the Colony.

Innumerable petitions from the East at once covered the tables of both Houses, in favour of federative separation. Mr. Clough moved in the House of Assembly (21st April) "for an efficient Government resident upon the immediate frontier," and Mr. Harries, the principal "champion of separation," surrendered his former advocacy of entire disunion, in hopes that this new policy might bring about equal advantages to the Eastern Province; but the opponents, it was said, fearing peril to the ascendancy of the metropolis, and that great organic change might ensue, contrived to get the whole matter referred to a "Select Committee on British Kaffraria and Frontier Government," whose Report, dated the 8th June, demurred to the annexation of British Kaffraria, and ignored the subject of Federation, by merely publishing the evidence and withholding any opinion on that matter. A careful perusal of the evidence given before the Committee is instructive, giving, as it does, the views of Sir William Hodges (the Chief Justice) and the Hon. Mr. Porter, Mr. Solomon, Mr. Harries, and others, on the form a Federative Government ought to assume. The evidence goes to prove the general opinion that the mismanagement by the distant Cape Town Government of the native tribes was one of the chief causes of the cry for removal or separation, and one of the principal reasons of the exodus of more than 6,000 Dutch Boers from the Colony in 1837—that the present system of government could not last—that a Cape Town Parliament cannot fail to dissatisfy the

Eastern population—that it invariably takes the “lion’s share”—that the Colony ought to be divided—that there was a growing disposition on the part of the Westerns to grant separation, by which the West would be the gainers—that the Crown lands in the Eastern Province belong to that Province—and that Parliament cannot be ambulatory.

Among other topics of the opening speech, His Excellency called the attention of both Houses to the unexampled increase in its commerce,* private wealth, and public revenue, and delivered a sharp and well-directed rebuke to the maligners of the Colonists, showing by the state of prosperity “how groundless was the supposition that the prosperity of this Colony depends upon war and the expenditure from the Military chest, and that the inhabitants should desire for the sake of a large Military expenditure to see their country again involved in all the evils and horrors of hostilities, at the risk of witnessing the permanent improvements now taking place through every part of its whole extent checked and deferred for years.”

Some excitement among the border natives having taken place, the Governor suggested the propriety of providing some special fund, about £100,000, for the purpose of bringing into the Eastern Province a sufficient number of Europeans, in order somewhat to equalize the proportion between the white and coloured population, and prevent the constant recurrence of alarms; but the Assembly did not approve the measure farther than by the usual vote of £50,000, and so this salutary project was defeated.

The Session of Parliament closed on the 8th July, when the Governor congratulated the Houses upon the unusual degree of tranquillity prevailing throughout the whole of the Frontier; and thus far the augury for the Colony was one of the most promising on record.

* Imports and exports, Western Province, 1856					£1,315,788
Do.	do.	Eastern	do.	do.	..... 1,513,230
Do.	do.	Western Province,	1858		2,155,872
Do.	do.	Eastern	do.	do.	..... 2,191,234

Previous to the dismissal of the representatives, a *fête* of no ordinary interest took place at Cape Town, where, on the 31st March, the Governor turned the first sod of the first South African Railway, to connect the metropolis with that beautiful valley, celebrated for its orange groves, Wagonmakers Valley, henceforward called Wellington, a line to open up a large extent of productive country.

With all these glowing prospects so full of promise, the Colonists were astounded to find, in the month of August, their active Governor suddenly recalled, who after a five years' administration had redeemed the Colony from its chaotic state, and substituted the blessings of peace for the horrors of war. Various causes were assigned for this ungracious step, but the one put forth was that in pursuit of his great scheme of combining the South African States into one compact by federative union, he was likely to involve the Parent Country in onerous liabilities, and in pursuit of his wise, comprehensive, and statesmanlike views he had "repudiated the authority of the Home Government in matters of general policy, which could never be tolerated." No sooner had the news transpired than addresses of condolence flowed in upon him from all quarters, followed by petitions subscribed by thousands, complaining of the measure, and craving his reinstatement, which were transmitted to England by the same vessel conveying him from the shore of Table Bay, on the 21st of August. How successful they were will be seen in a very brief period.

Misfortunes always travel in company. Almost immediately after the Colony had been deprived of its Governor, the great staple of the West was assailed by a disease in its vines, known as *Oidium Tuckeri*. This destructive blight inflicted ruinous losses upon the wine farmers, already deeply depressed by an injurious tariff, which they were in no way equal to bear.

1860.—The first incident for this year's chronicle is that of a decision of the Supreme Court in March, astounding to the elder Colonists, regarding the rate of legal interest. By the existing custom it was generally believed that no

more than six per cent. per annum could be taken, and the Cape capitalist of character exacted no more. The subject was now, however, brought before the Bench, and the judgment given was that there was no prescribed rate. A large class of the inhabitants attribute much of the evil since suffered to the license thus given to free trade in money. They had not studied political economy.

The Parliamentary Session was opened by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General R. H. Wynyard, in April. His address was cautionary as regarded native affairs, recommending constant vigilance, as the Kafirs had recovered from their late suicidal policy, and stating that Krela was aiming at the recovery of his territory, and that the reductions in the Military force, and orders received to disband the German Military Settlers, caused him uneasiness. The subjects brought before the representatives were many and varied, and among them was an attempt to introduce Responsible Government, towards which there was a strong leaning in the metropolis; but on this occasion it was rejected by the Assembly. An ineffectual motion was again made by the Eastern members for a separation of the Provinces, and the discomfiture was the more aggravated by the Colonial Secretary gravely proposing an export duty upon wool of a penny in the pound, which was equivalent to taxing the Eastern Province about seven times more than the West. Upon this the Easterns at once took fire, meetings were held throughout the Frontier, a Separation League formed, and in the following year a conference of delegates was held at Somerset East to concert a plan for local government.

To the inexpressible delight of the Colonists, rumours now reached the Cape that Sir G. Grey had been reinstated, having triumphantly refuted the charges against him. On the 4th July His Excellency returned amid the acclamations of the people, and to add *éclat* to the event it was announced that a Prince of the Blood, Alfred (the now Duke of Edinburgh), would soon honour the Colony by his presence as the guest of the Governor. To increase the gratification, it was also made known

that Her Majesty the Queen had been pleased to confer the honour of Knighthood upon three of the Colonists—Mr. Maclear, the Astronomer Royal, Mr. Walter Currie, Commandant of the Frontier Police, and Mr. C. J. Brand, the Speaker of the House of Assembly.

The Parliament having passed a large number of Acts, the most valuable being one for preventing the introduction of convicted felons, for selling Crown lands under a quitrent, for providing means for the construction of roads, bridges, building and improving prisons, &c., it was courteously dismissed by Sir George with congratulations on the increase of revenue, the diminution of crime, and the existence of peace upon the Border.

On the 24th July the Queen's son, the young sailor Prince, arrived, who was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The triumphal entry into the metropolis, the fêtes, fancy fairs; the visit to Port Elizabeth, where he landed on the anniversary of his birth; his journey through the interior, his battues, his visit to Natal, his inauguration of the new Library and Museum, his tilting the first load of stone for the Table Bay Breakwater—are they not all written in the chronicles of the day, and therefore unnecessary to be detailed in these Annals? Suffice it to say the Prince and people met in joy and parted with mutual regret after a visit of two months.

One other subject remains yet to be noted, and that is the erection at last of British Kaffraria into a separate Government.

1861.—The Session of Parliament is the principle object of record this year. It assembled on the 26th April, and is remarkable for the first announcement of those financial difficulties which continue to trouble the Colony up to the present time. His Excellency informed the representatives that although the revenue still continued to increase, the expenditure it had sanctioned had increased at an equal rate (a fact more truthful than pleasant); he intimated also that a very general desire existed that the present form of government should be considered with a view to making judicious alterations,

and that the conduct of, and progress of, the native races was satisfactory; that he hoped to make arrangements for the extension of British influence over a considerable part of the country between the Kei and Natal, and the gradual occupation of the country by persons of European race; and with these prospects the business of the Session commenced. The subject of alterations in the Government was taken advantage of by the inhabitants of the East, who transmitted petitions signed by above 6,000 persons, and a Bill was introduced for separation, based upon the terms settled at the Somerset Convention; but on the 11th June was ignominiously thrown out by a large Western majority in the Assembly, and a similar fate attended the same measure in the Legislative Council, as did a motion for the removal of the seat of Government to some more central spot than Cape Town.

Parliament was prorogued on the 14th August, when His Excellency, referring to native relations, said "they must be watched with much care," adding this memorable passage, especially suggestive to the philanthropic world, of whom some persons wish to limit an irrepressible Anglo-Saxon race within the narrow space of the Cape Colony:—"The European race and coloured," said he, "will increase, will hold intercourse, and pass into each other's limits. To limit the bounds of the British Europeans to the exact portions they now occupy, if these bounds are for ever to be assailed by barbarians, are to be for ever defended by numerous and costly troops—to be for ever inhabited by a poor race of Settlers, constantly pillaged, unable to accumulate capital and afraid to invest it in improvements—is to give no advantage to the British possessions or the races in contact. Every effort has been made to build up a system of mutual advantage, to consolidate great and prosperous communities wealthy and strong enough to maintain themselves, and prepared to carry, at no cost to the British Government, the blessings of law and order and of the Christian faith." Alas, that this wise and benevolent policy was destined to be so soon abandoned!

The day following, Sir George Grey left the shores of South Africa for New Zealand, to settle affairs in that Dependency—a loss deeply to be regretted by the Colonists, as he possessed both the will and the ability to control and at the same time improve the surrounding barbarians. His departure was deplored in addresses both from the people and the Parliament, one branch of which said it “cannot avoid to give expression to the alarm so generally felt that by a successor (however willing to advance the interests of the Colonists) His Excellency’s plan may not be carried out in that firm but conciliatory manner which has so materially tended to preserve peace and order on our extensive borders.”

SECTION XXI.

1862—Arrival of new Governor—Speech to Parliament on unwise Expenditure—Is hostile to Separation and Removal—Advocates Annexation of British Kaffraria—Submits Plan of *quasi*-Federation—Defers peopling the Transkei—Separation Bill lost in Parliament. 1863—Griquas find a Road over the Quathlamba Mountains—Parliamentary Session—Governor's Warning regarding Expenditure—Motion for Responsible Government lost—Vote carried for next Session in East—Irritation thereon—Ecclesiastical troubles—The *Alabama*. 1864—Parliament at Graham's Town—Kreli allowed to return—Governor arbitrates between Free State and Basutos. 1865—Removal of Natives over the Kei—The Annexation Session—Dreadful Storm in Table Bay. 1866—Gloomy prospects—Increase of Legislators—Bad state of Finances and cause—The famous Retrenchment Committee and Report. 1867—Its Parliament—Withdrawal of Troops—Scheme of a new Constitution—Responsible Government—Duke of Edinburgh at the Cape—Bushmen and Koranna Raid. 1868—Basutos made British Subjects—Parliamentary Session—Gold and Diamonds.

Administration of Governor and High Commissioner Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B.

JANUARY 5, 1862.

1862.—The events of this yet unconcluded administration are of so recent a date, and the results of its policy, especially as regards native affairs, only partially developed, that they lie only within the domain of the chronicler and not of the critic; besides which the space apportioned to the writer has already been so far exceeded as to necessitate condensation. The Annals from this time to the close of 1868 must consequently be epitomized, leaving the reign, as a whole, for some future penman.

Sir George Grey was succeeded by Sir P. Wodehouse, who arrived in the Colony on the 15th January, receiving a hearty welcome, the more especially as it had been reported "he had been deservedly esteemed wherever he had represented his country." On the 24th April, he opened his Parliament with a long, able, and exhaustive speech, highly complimentary to his predecessor, craving consideration for himself, and announcing, to the gratifi-

cation of all, that the Government had been endeavouring to carry out the Grey policy. He then called attention to the question of allowance to the British troops, adverting to the error which Parliament had committed in refusing the annual vote of £10,000 towards their support, "which might be interpreted by the Home Government that the Colonists saw no occasion for them." In plain terms too, he reminded them there had been a serious mistake in spending £270,000 upon unproductive works, which was an early and fair warning against future extravagance. His next theme was that of the future form of Government; he deprecated separation, repudiated the scheme of removal, but advocated the annexation to the Colony of British Kaffraria; he also recommended Parliament should alternate its sittings between East and West, and that provision should be made for the occasional residence of the Governor in the former locality.

On the 17th July, while Parliament was still in session, he addressed the Duke of Newcastle on the stoppage of all Home aid for British Kaffraria and the institutions established by Sir George Grey, and consequently he could not with prudence obey instructions for annexing the Transkeian Territory; that Kreli was most anxious to return to it, and that he dared not push forward farmers and their families into an exposed position without the certainty of being enabled to afford the proper support. In the same despatch he informed the Minister that the question of separation had been lost in Parliament, and then pointed out the importance on the part of Her Majesty's Government for some decided line of policy, suggesting a *quasi*-federative "separation of the two Provinces, and the erection of one Central Government for the control and regulation of matters, to be distinctly specified, all others to be left in the hands of the respective local Governments," and then he proceeded to detail his plan in a way which appeared satisfactory, concluding with a request for an early reply. This was accorded on the 5th November, when His Grace the Duke in the matter of federation suggested as example the Constitu-

tion of New Zealand. After one hundred and five days' sitting Parliament was prorogued, the Governor regretting "that it should separate without having adopted measures calculated to put to rest the long-pending differences between the Western and Eastern Provinces." The Session was not, however, altogether fruitless, as Railway Bills were passed, a vote for immigration carried, an irrigation report furnished, the Military subsidy of £10,000 restored, and a Bill against usury rejected.

Besides the business of legislation the year was not distinguished by any striking events, except that in February the Cape and Wellington Railway had progressed for twenty-one miles, and on the 14th of August the Wynberg railroad was commenced by a private company, and this undertaking has proved a great convenience and benefit to the large population of Cape Town. No more delightful excursion can be made than on this line, through avenues and under the cool shadow of majestic trees, amid gardens, vineyards, orangeries, and elegant villas, along the base of grand old Table Mountain, whose phases, ever varied, are always beautiful.

Another circumstance of record is the loss of the steamer *Waldensian* off Struys Point, having on board a number of clergymen proceeding to Synod and a troupe of Christy's Minstrels, who, with the crew, were all providentially saved; and to this must be added that of the noble subscription of £3,000 raised by the Colonists for the relief of the Lancashire sufferers.

1863.—An adventurous and successful attempt by a party of Griquas under Adam Kok to reach a tract of land on the southern slopes of the Drakensberg is a prominent occurrence of this period. This land, ceded to the Colony by the Amaponda Chief Faku, was allotted by Sir G. Grey to a portion of that people, and they now proceeded to take possession. Leaving Aliwal North, on the Orange River, and passing through the Native Reserve, with twenty wagons, they crossed the barrier range, and emerged on one of the sources of the St. John's River, thus connecting Kaffraria Proper with the vast interior.

The discovery of this passage, and since then the completion of a tolerable road, will hereafter be of great value, although impracticable in the winter season, as snowstorms are very violent.

The Parliament assembled on the 16th April, when the Governor brought the unpleasant fact to its notice that expenditure had largely exceeded revenue, that efforts had been made to curtail, but that reduction must be the work of time, and as no immediate relief could be obtained, he would ask for a temporary loan and some additional duties. The intimation does not seem to have caused consternation, and one of the Liberal leading journals of the day predicted that "long before the five years of Sir P. Wodehouse's term of office are over we shall find the balance on the right side of the Colonial ledger, and the hope with which he concluded his speech fully realized." The additional taxes were voted, as well as the "temporary" loan of £150,000 for the public service.

During the Session, endeavours were made to introduce "Responsible Government," which met discomfiture, and its promoters were still the more irritated by the Easterns carrying a vote that the next Session should be in their Province, which the Governor intimated he should hold in Graham's Town. Upon this, public meetings were convened to induce the Queen to interfere; but the reply of the Colonial Minister was that the Governor "had exercised a sound discretion."

The religious circles of the Colony were sadly distracted at this period. The High-Church English Episcopalians got into an unhappy contest with the more moderate sections, and in December the Metropolitan, with the Bishops of Graham's Town, Free State, and St. Helena, assembled in the Cathedral in Cape Town and solemnly deposed Dr. Colenso, the Bishop of Natal, for heresy, a sentence subsequently declared powerless. The Dutch Reformed Church was also up in arms against Liberalism, as professed by some of its clergy; and even the Moslem Malay population was so affected by the polemical epidemic, as to require an Effendi (Aboubeker) from Con-

stantinople to settle their differences. What they were is unknown to the Annalist, but one was said at the time, truly or not, to be whether that delicious but much contemned crustacean, *kreeft* (crawfish), was lawful food or not?

The visit of the notorious Confederate vessel, the *Alabama*, and its commander, Captain Semmes, to Table Bay; his fight and capture of the *Sea Bride* within sight of the shore; and the arrival of the States steamer *Vanderbilt*, in search of Confederate cruisers, were incidents causing intense excitement among the inhabitants of the metropolis.

1864.—The Parliament, as decided, assembled at Graham's Town on the 28th April, when the Governor justified the measure principally on the ground that for the last ten years a very unequal share of the burthen of attendance had fallen on the Eastern members. The state of the finances, he explained, was such, that in the early part of the year he had issued instructions for the suspension of many public works, yet nevertheless recourse must be had to borrowing; but to give confidence to foreign capitalists, the foundation of some guarantee was essential. Bills were therefore introduced for additional imposts through the Customs and other sources, for a Sinking Fund, for a loan of £234,000 to pay off debentures, and one for a Census of the Colony.

The Session was a busy one, and though denounced by Western members, the Governor in his despatches home* pronounced it "a success; that all he had desired had been done, supplies granted, Judicial establishments enlarged, native questions fairly dealt with, and the hand of Government strengthened by convincing the predominant influence of Cape Town that Parliament can be easily held elsewhere."

A sudden change in our Border policy occurring in August astonished and alarmed the Frontier inhabitants. The Governor communicated to Kreli that he had permis-

* Despatch, 11th August, 1864.

sion to return to a portion of his own country, a procedure then and still pronounced a blunder ; but it will be but fair here to take a short retrospective glance over the affair as it appears in the correspondence. On the Governor's arrival in 1862 he was disposed to carry out the Grey scheme of populating the Transkeian Territory, and for that purpose recommended the reduction of the Cape Mounted Rifles, costing £80,000 a year, substituting a body of 400 men and officers of "Irregular Horse," for which only £48,000 would be required. In 1863 he proposed that a thousand farms should be granted on annual quitrents of from £20 to £25 each, on the condition of personal presence at periodical musters of the armed servants of the proprietors. The reduction of the Cape Rifles was opposed by the Lieutenant-Governor on the Frontier, but up to the 16th September, 1863, Sir Philip persisted in his representations of the advantages of filling the country with European farmers ; obstacles to this being strongly urged, he on the 13th March suggested a temporary modification by reducing a portion of the Cape Rifles only, and raising but half the number of Irregulars, still hoping to develope the original plan in its entirety. All this unluckily was unavailing ; alarms of Kafir intrigues commencing in June, a sort of panic ensued, which the Military authorities represented home, and declared that unless additional regiments were sent out or Kreli suffered to return, they would not be answerable for the safety of the Frontier. The British Government took fright at the prospect of a fourth Kafir war, and the Governor was directed to withdraw within the Kei, and so retrocession (interpreted by savages as an indication of weakness) was re-enacted, and Kreli brought into his old and dangerous lair.

The complicated state of affairs between the Free State and the Basuto Chief Moshesh regarding a boundary line having been referred to the Governor, he readily accepted the task, and after inspection of the lands in dispute, declared in a Proclamation dated the 28th October the limits between the contending parties ; but these matters

were followed by subsequent hostilities and fresh interventions, as will be seen.

Two events occurred connected with the interests of the Colony, one at the beginning, the other at the close of the year—the first the completion of telegraphic communication between the metropolis and Graham's Town, a distance of 600 miles; the other the permanent opening of fifty-eight miles of railway from Cape Town to Wellington.

1865.—To obviate any possible danger from the too great accumulation of natives in isolated masses (Fingoes and Tambookies) in the upper part of the North-eastern Border, the Governor now proposed to move them into the superior pastures beyond the Kei, of which, notwithstanding our withdrawal, a *quasi*-right of possession was still maintained; and such a step, if successful, would have enabled him, as he desired, to fill up the vacated spaces with Europeans, and thus strengthen the Frontier. The offer of these Transkeian lands was therefore made; but through some *contretemps*, in which Kreli, the restored Chief, was suspected of being engaged, a widely-spread alarm was excited. The Fingoes, it had been insinuated, were to be forcibly ejected, and, it was reported, had in consequence assumed a dangerous attitude, producing such alarm among the Border inhabitants that the local authorities applied for the presence of a Military force. The Tambookies also, who at first appeared ready to accept the gift, hesitated—in their greed they were prepared to take the new lands, yet indisposed to relinquish those in actual possession—and in the sequel only a portion of the two races left their locations.

A similar offer of territory on the T'Somo was at the same time made to the Kafirs under Sandilli, that Chief having complained of the straitness of his possessions; but after some negotiations he objected to retire, and was permitted to remain. Thus the scheme of filling up evacuated lands by Europeans failed, with the probable evil added, as stated by a Frontier officer well acquainted with the people, that the natives who had migrated beyond the Kei, if

left without protection, would, it was to be feared, fraternize with the Kafirs.

On the refusal of the Governor's proffer by the Tambookies, it was determined that those electing to remain within the Colony proper should no longer be under Kafir law, their Chiefs no longer wield authority, and that the office of Government Agent should be abolished. Accordingly, on the 26th November, it was notified, at a great meeting held at Glen Grey, that Nonesi and the other Chiefs had ceased to reign, and that English jurisprudence was supreme.

The Parliament, restored to its former seat (Cape Town), was opened on the 27th April. The Session lasted nearly six months and is memorable for the great annexation measure which united the unwilling and free Colony of British Kaffraria to that of the equally disinclined Cape. The Home Government, determined to force the union (as its separate existence implied maintenance by troops) and doubtful how the Colonists would entertain the proposal, had taken the precaution to carry an Imperial Act for the purpose, which was sent to the Governor, but not to be used unless the Colonial Legislature proved restive. He therefore introduced a Bill, which meeting with resistance, the Imperial Act was produced and both were welded into one which the Attorney-General of the day humorously designated the "hotch-potch." By this extraordinary fusion ten new electoral divisions were created and the members of the Assembly increased from 46 to 66, and those of the Council from 15 to 21, but continuing the same unjust disparity in representatives between West and East as existed in 1854, although the two Provinces had changed their relative claims for consideration as regarded wealth, population, and commerce, as shown in the spirited protest of six Eastern members of the Legislative Council, who declared the interests of their constituents had been entirely forgotten and the Province virtually disfranchised. The annexation question occupied the greater part of the Session; no other Acts of much importance were passed, and on the 10th October Parliament was prorogued.

This year is fatally memorable by one of the worst storms that ever visited Table Bay. On the 17th May eighteen vessels were driven on shore, including the mail-steamer *Athens*, in which every soul perished. The total loss of life was reckoned at about seventy persons, and of property at £100,000. To add to the accumulation of distress, on the very same day half the town of Swellendam was consumed by fire. But to the credit of the inhabitants of Cape Town, be it stated, they at once, as always, generously came forward to alleviate the misery of both cases.

1866.—The year assumed a different aspect from its predecessors; adverse seasons, continued depression in trade, a heavy fall in the price of wool, the disturbing influence of a war between the Free State and Basutos, effected great embarrassments among the merchants; and money panics, with failures, were the consequences. The state, too, of the public finances demanding the relinquishment of public works, threw a considerable number of operatives out of employment. Distress became general—almost chronic—and its relief difficult; while on the Border there was such an increase of crime in the way of theft by natives, that the inhabitants of British Kaffraria, conscious they were justified by necessity, associated for mutual protection against depredators whom the law could not reach. The times were out of joint.

The British Kaffrarian Annexation Act having created new constituencies, the additional members were elected, and Parliament commenced its Session in September. The Governor's speech complained, as a matter of much anxiety, of the excess of expenditure over income to the extent of £94,600, occasioned by the appointment of new magistracies, additions to Frontier Police, building gaols, &c.; but there was this little consolation, that the value of Colonially-produced exports had risen to above £2,000,000 sterling, and the wealth of the country had very greatly increased. Still it was found requisite to borrow, and Acts were therefore passed to raise £250,000 for paying unsecured debt and for the public service. The great fact of the Session, for little else of note was accomplished,

was the appointment of a Select Committee on Retrenchment and its famous Report to the Assembly, which proposed by sundry reductions, abolitions, amalgamations of offices, &c., to effect a saving of a sum no less than £86,855; but notwithstanding all the labour bestowed, small relief was obtained beyond the abolition of the expensive Railway Engineer's Department, and the vexed question was left a legacy for future legislation.

1867.—The proceedings of the Legislature, by the dearth of other topics of local interest, provide almost the sole materials for these Annals. The Session of the preceding year only closed in January, and the representatives were again assembled in April, when His Excellency took the opportunity to vindicate his Government from the charge which had been made of antagonism to Parliament, assuring it that the Executive had accepted its plan of retrenchment in as far as it was practicable; yet, nevertheless, there would still be deficiency of revenue, which might in part be met by a duty on exports. He then adverted to the pressing demands of the Home Government for payment of the troops, a charge he admitted too heavy for the Colony to bear, and stated he had tried to ward off the disaster of their withdrawal. He next suggested a new form of Government by dividing the Colony into six Electoral Circles, each to return three members, adding to them three Executive officers, by which arrangement he considered there would be no difficulty in convening the single Chamber of twenty-one at either end of the Colony. This proposition, with its scheme of a peripatetic Parliament, found no favour, and was soon withdrawn, and in its place the Liberal party attempted to introduce Responsible Government, which was defeated in the Assembly by a large majority. In the Council it was then moved to remove the seat of Government, which was backed by strong resolutions, and these were met by counter resolutions from the Assembly, and both referred to the Home Government, the result of which was that it would not interfere, but left the matter for settlement by the Cape Legislature itself.

In the month of August the Western inhabitants had the gratification of again meeting their late illustrious guest, Prince Alfred (now Duke of Edinburgh) who arrived in command of the *Galatea*. On this occasion he visited the forests of the Knysna and enjoyed an elephant hunt, from whence returning, he embarked on the 28th September for the Australian Colonies.

Among the few other memorabilia of the time was the appearance in Cape Town of a very malignant febrile disease which called forth the usual sympathies of its people, but, alas! numbering among its victims two medical men, Drs. Graf and Brown, who with others of their profession, devoted themselves to the wants of the sick and poor; and on the north-western boundary (in Namaqualand), where peace generally obtained, the Bushmen and Korannas commenced a series of murderous and plundering attacks upon the scattered Colonists which, although since partially suppressed, still threaten that wild and rugged frontier.

1868.—The sanguinary war still raging between the Free State and the Basutos, inflicting great losses on the mercantile community, holding claims amounting to full half a million sterling against the former, induced the Governor as High Commissioner, in the interests of justice as well as humanity, again to attempt friendly intervention, the more especially as Moshesh and his people had been long anxious to become British subjects. His Excellency therefore repaired once more to Aliwal North to confer with Mr. Brand, the State's President; but as that gentleman's Council were flushed with considerable success, the meeting was declined. The High Commissioner, therefore, after patiently waiting, but in vain, for a favourable change, on the 12th of March, having the authority of the Home Government, proclaimed Basutoland British territory, and placed a considerable body of the Colonial Mounted Police there for its protection. On his return to the Cape, negotiations were, however, opened by the State, which ended in the modification of certain boundary lines

greatly in its favour, which being disapproved of by a portion of the Basutos, a deputation was sent to England to represent what it considered an injustice, and the question still remains unsettled.

The last Session of the Third Parliament was called together on the 20th May, when it was formally announced that although revenue had slightly exceeded and expenditure fallen but little short of the Estimates, and notwithstanding some savings might be expected in the Convict Department and Police, there would still remain a deficiency of some £25,000, but a large accession of income was likely to be obtained by leasing Crown lands. The embarrassments of the Government were, in His Excellency's speech, attributed to the fact that in previous years it had been disposed and encouraged to make great efforts for the development of the Colony, money had been freely borrowed for large undertakings, and that private individuals had entered into a similar course; a great change had come over the habits and manners of the people, a general desire for the luxuries of a higher state of civilization, involving a necessity for ready money; but now a reaction had set in and the presence of encumbrances was very painful.

After passing thirty-three Acts of no particular note, the prorogation took place on the 3rd September, when the Governor commended the wise and temperate spirit in which matters had been treated; he thanked Parliament for the supplies, saying that on the subject of retrenchment the recommendation of Parliament had been kept steadily in view, the only difference being as to the mode of curtailment. With regard to the natives, he referred to their removal over the Kei, believing it would be beneficial; and on the whole the Governor and Parliament appeared to part on amicable terms.

It was near the close of the Session that the Council (and country) sustained a severe loss by the death of Sir William Hodges, its President. He had been exceedingly active during its continuance, and had just drawn up a masterly report upon railways, a subject to which for years

he had directed his attention, and which, it is said, led to his promotion to the Chief Justiceship of the Cape. The event was sudden and unlooked-for, and the more keenly felt as his nature was at all times kindly and courteous, his regard for the general good unbounded, and his efforts ever directed to allay strife and promote harmony. Peace to his spirit !

One circumstance of importance to commerce occurred during the last few years which must not be left unrecorded, and that is the successful opening of a new harbour on the coast, at the mouth of the Kowie River, in the district of Albany, named, in honour of the Sailor Prince, Port Alfred. This undertaking was commenced and carried on with untiring energy amid great obstacles by W. Cock, Esq., late member of the Legislative Council, who procured the formation of a company engaging to subscribe £25,000 on the Government advancing a like amount. The offer was accepted and the works proceeded with, the Government through Parliament advancing on loan an additional £64,000. From 1866 to 1868 the trade of the port has progressively increased, and in the last-named year no less than twenty-eight vessels have entered the river from Europe, the East, and the coast, discharging and receiving cargoes in ample depth of water and perfect safety. A ship of no less burthen than 340 tons passing into and departing with ease is proof of the capabilities of this land-locked harbour.

The rumour of the existence of vast and rich fields of gold in the interior, north of the Orange River, attracting numbers of prospectors, but as yet without any positive result, and the actual discovery of valuable diamonds on that stream and its tributaries, are most encouraging events to chronicle in the summary of this Administration, and likely to give a fresh impetus to the success of the still Cape of Good Hope.

APPENDIX.

I. STATISTICS—

- i. Population. ii. Fixed Property. iii. Comparative Wealth of the West and Eastern Provinces. iv. Commercial Progress. v. Exports (Cape Wine): vi. Exports (Wool). vii. Revenue and Expenditure. viii. Apportionments of Revenue and Expenditure of each Province.

II. HARBOURS OF REFUGE—Claim of Algoa Bay.

III. COMPENSATION FOR LOSSES BY KAFIR WARS.

IV. RANDOM REMINISCENCES OF THE CAPE.

V. NAMES OF MEMBERS OF FIRST CAPE PARLIAMENT, 1854.

STATISTICS.

I.

POPULATION RETURNS, CAPE COLONY.

Years.	Western Province.	Eastern Province.	Totals.	Authority.
1822	—	—	111,451	G. Thompson.
1830	84,121	40,334	124,455	Almanac 1831.
1835	—	—	135,250	Sundry returns, but not
1840	98,403	51,852	150,255	very reliable.
1845	108,494	57,566	166,060	„
1850	114,886	170,393	285,279	„
1855	137,225	97,120	234,345	„
1860	147,067	120,029	267,096	„
1865	236,300	260,081	496,381	Census.
1866	236,300	*329,858	566,158	„

PROPORTIONS AS TO COLOUR.

		White.	Coloured.
1866	Western Province.....	105,348	130,952
„	Eastern Province.....	82,091	247,767
		<hr/> 187,439	<hr/> 378,719

II.

VALUE OF FIXED PROPERTY, CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Years.	Western Province.	Eastern Province.	Authorities.
1845	£3,958,989	£1,805,049	Road Rate Returns.
1857	4,000,806	1,665,754	„
1860	4,747,426	5,681,766	„
1865	9,070,324	8,580,479	Census.
1868	8,986,101	9,530,834	Govt. Return, G. 26—'68.

* Includes population of British Kaffraria, annexed in 1865.

III.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF WEALTH IN THE TWO PROVINCES OF
THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE IN 1865.

	Western.	Eastern.
In Fixed Property	£9,070,324	£8,580,479*
In Stock	5,755,864	11,029,362†
In Produce	1,944,969	1,221,765
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	£16,771,157	£20,831,606

IV.

TABLE SHOWING THE RELATIVE COMMERCIAL PROGRESS OF THE
WESTERN AND EASTERN PROVINCES OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE
OF GOOD HOPE.

1830 TO 1834.

	Western Province.	Eastern Province.
Imports	£1,748,323	£134,119
Exports	955,548	207,382
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	£2,703,871	£341,501
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Customs	£83,127	£4,839

1835 TO 1839.

Imports	£4,200,975	£460,340
Exports	1,505,691	193,558
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	£5,706,666	£653,898
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Customs	£132,566	£18,050

1840 TO 1844.

Imports	£3,965,469	£626,406
Exports	1,485,464	422,793
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	£5,450,933	£1,049,199
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Customs	£241,698	£40,016

* The return for 1868 makes the Eastern value one million more.

† The quantity of stock and produce is taken from the Blue Book of 1865, and calculated at the rates therein stated.

1845 to 1849.

Imports	£4,270,677	.....	£1,356,000
Exports	1,737,271	.....	1,017,391
Total	£6,007,948	.....	£2,373,391
Customs	£361,282	.....	£100,912

1850 to 1854.

Imports	£5,618,960	.....	£2,362,482
Exports	2,135,069	.....	1,817,340
Total	£7,754,029	.....	£4,179,822
Customs	£396,565	.....	£193,165

1855 to 1859.

Imports	£5,844,425	.....	£4,831,118
Exports	3,150,259	.....	4,364,647
Total	£8,994,684	.....	£9,195,765
Customs	£602,346	.....	£474,510

1860 to 1864.

Imports	£6,076,287	.....	£5,940,429
Exports	2,945,360	.....	6,874,859
Total	£9,021,647	.....	£12,815,288
Customs	£710,635	.....	£690,467

1865 to 1868.

Imports	£3,804,680	.....	£4,451,014
Exports	2,146,922	.....	7,074,213
Total	£5,951,602	.....	£11,525,227
Customs	£524,587	.....	£644,735

V.

CAPE WINE EXPORTED FROM TABLE BAY.

Years.	Gallons.	Declared Value.	Years.	Gallons.	Declared Value.
1821	760,841	£82,170	1855	493,796	£61,077
1830	1,157,831	101,700	1860	554,459	81,509
1835	1,222,211	95,832	1865	194,899	25,686
1840	973,912	78,368	1866	96,365	15,321
1845	546,207	52,040	1867	72,785	11,411
1850	374,903	35,890	1868	84,829	13,368

NOTE.—By the Census of 1865, there appears produced in the whole Colony:—

Wine, Imperial Gallons	3,237,428
Brandy, do.	430,955

VI.

WOOL EXPORTED FROM THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FROM 1830 TO 1868.

	WESTERN PROVINCE.		EASTERN PROVINCE.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
1830 to 1835	406,621 lbs.	£20,331	216,810	£10,840
1836 „ 1840	1,657,944	82,897	1,054,937	52,746
1841 „ 1845	2,733,986	136,699	5,894,935	294,746
1846 „ 1850	6,965,270	348,263	14,633,388	731,669
1854 „ 1855	9,663,649	483,182	32,813,517	1,640,675
1856 „ 1860	15,528,572	776,428	75,387,264	3,769,363
1861 „ 1865	23,205,880	1,160,294	149,875,709	7,493,785
1866	5,023,610	275,391	28,978,743	1,643,074
1867	4,987,256	249,362	31,039,358	1,678,339
1868	4,709,631	235,481	31,753,679	1,620,484

VII.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE OF THE COLONY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE FROM 1820 TO 1868 AT INTERVALS.

Years.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	
1820	£136,064	£150,858	} Royal Commissioners of Inquiry. Martin's Colonies.
1825	107,362	150,418	
1830	134,493	121,463	
1835	133,417	134,576	
1840	160,345	160,496	
1845	237,295	218,450	
1850	221,067	228,857	
1855	273,866	298,221	
1860	525,371	657,505	
1865	519,045	651,515	} Colonial Office. 14th August, 1867. 28th August, 1868. Official Returns.
1866	536,347	640,383	
1867	609,476	670,571	
1868	565,556	656,122	

VIII.

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE AS APPORTIONED BY GOVERNMENT BETWEEN THE TWO PROVINCES FOR THE YEARS 1865-6-7.

Years.	REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	West.	East.	West.	East.
1865	£268,540	£250,505	£344,830	£306,685
1866	269,680	266,667	324,307	316,076
1867	278,014	331,462	317,820	352,751

But this statement has been challenged. First, because it has been admitted (by the late Colonial Secretary), as to Revenue that the items

stamps, fees, fines, sales, &c., should be fairly credited between the two Provinces in equal portions; and in respect to Expenditure, the items of Border and Aborigines Departments, charged exclusively against the East, should be equally debited, as the whole Colony enjoys the benefit of peace thereby, and, moreover, that the Mounted Police has been used for Imperial purposes, and lately for the protection of the Western inhabitants (at Namaqualand). The account would therefore stand corrected as under :—

Years.	REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
	West.	East.	West.	East.
*1865	£243,800	£275,245	£373,615	£277,900
1866	244,616	291,731	357,437	282,946
1867	254,696	354,780	352,368	318,203

* Authorities—Statement of Revenue and Expenditure of the Eastern and Western Provinces respectively, &c., with the equitable distribution. Presented to Parliament in 1867-1868.

HARBOURS OF REFUGE.

IN the foregoing Annals reference has been made to the superior claims of Algoa Bay for works of the above nature, and, in support thereof the following notice, drawn up by an officer long employed on the coast survey and intimately acquainted with the port, is with his permission now made public:—

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS UPON THE WINTER PASSAGE ROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE BY HOMEWARD-BOUND SHIPS FROM THE EAST.

Horsburgh in the *East India Directory*,* and other authorities, recommend homeward-bound East India ships to round Cape St. Mary, the south extreme of the island of Madagascar, at the distance of 25 or 30 leagues, and then to steer west for the African continent in the vicinity of Algoa Bay—(the object of this is to secure the full effect of the Mozambique and Agulhas current, which sets generally to the W.S.W. and W.)—and, having made the land, to keep pretty near to it, in order that N.W. gales, which blow with great violence in the winter months, may not drive them so far to the southward as to lose its influence altogether. From Algoa Bay to Cape Agulhas the trend or direction of the coast is W.N.W. magnetic, and from Cape Agulhas to Cape Point it is N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. As this is the direction of the gales which blow with great violence in the winter months, causing a heavy and dangerous sea by being opposed to the Mozambique current, ship-masters find it very difficult at times to make this passage, and frequently receive so much injury to their ships as to compel them to seek for safety in some adjacent bay or to abandon them altogether. Several instances of ships foundering are on record, and many others have doubtless met the same fate, leaving no intimation of the disaster save their absence and the *debris* of wreck and Indian goods which have been thrown on to the shore.

From a very imperfect knowledge of the bays along the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Algoa Bay, and the shelter they afford in these N.W.W. gales (notwithstanding the recent surveys carried out by the Admiralty and the sailing instructions which have been published at a trifling cost to the purchasers) many ship-masters have avoided, rather than sought, the friendly shelter of these bays, and

* Horsburgh, vol. 2, edition vi., pages 829-830.

from a mistaken notion that they are unsafe. Nothing can be farther from the fact, and many a ship has been abandoned which might have been saved had they known the shelter that could be obtained, as well as repairs effected, in some of these bays.*

With regard to the currents on the coast, it may be remarked that the influence of the Mozambique and Agulhas current ceases in its regular W.S.W. direction and force when Algoa Bay is passed, for the land, taking a trend of about 30° to the northward, causes a counter-current to the eastward at the distance of 10 to 15 miles from the shore, and it has been observed, particularly between Capes Seal and Receiffe, that after and during westerly and north-westerly gales the ordinary W.S.W. current is deflected from its course and turned directly towards the land, producing a very dangerous element in navigation, if unattended to and not allowed for. From this cause many vessels have been wrecked near to Cape St. Francis, and many lives as well as much property sacrificed from this current alone. The same may be said with regard to current about Struys Point, where it generally sets north into Struys Bay after S.E. gales, and this probably will account for the great number of wrecks that have taken place between Cape L'Agulhas and De Hoop Point.†

In referring to the different places of shelter, TABLE BAY is first considered from its importance to shipping, with its docks, harbour works, and facilities for repair.

The chiefest difficulty to ships in making the winter passage homewards is in rounding Cape L'Agulhas, and vessels meeting with serious mishap between this and Cape Point have little if any prospect of reaching Table Bay to refit. After heavy gales have subsided, a mountainous W. or W.S.W. swell is experienced to the west of the Cape Peninsula, which does not abate for several days, and this, with the light winds which usually follow, render attempts to reach Table Bay a very hopeless task. Much more difficult, therefore, are all efforts to reach the bay if disabled to the eastward of Agulhas, and it cannot in consequence, with all its advantages of docks, breakwater, and patent slip, be considered a harbour of refuge for distressed ships in rounding the Cape during the winter months.

* Some of the ships abandoned:—*Stalwart*, *Agincourt*, and *Alfred*, in 1866, off East London; *Runnymede*, in 1865, off Cape Seal. N.B.—The *Krimpenewaard* was brought in by the *Celt*, steamer, just as the captain was about to abandon her off Cape St. Francis, not knowing that Algoa Bay afforded shelter; and the same ignorance prevailed in most of the ships that sought shelter from N.W. gales after being damaged in 1866.

† Some of the ships supposed to be lost from this cause:—*L'Aigle* (French), 1850; *Queen of the West*, 1850; *Grindley*, abandoned; *Hope*, steamer; *L'Auguste*, French; *Swallow*, schooner (iron); *Prince of the Seas*; *Runnymede*; Her Majesty's steamer *Osprey*, 1867; *Bosphorus*, steamer, 1867; *Jason*, 1869 (got off). N.B. *Borderer*, 1,000 tons, struck on a rock six miles off Struys Point in January, 1869, and almost immediately went down in deep water.

SIMON'S BAY, with its patent slip and splendid shelter in all winds, has a far higher claim as a refuge harbour than Table Bay, and advantage is naturally taken of its friendly shelter by disabled ships, as shown by the greater number of those vessels which put in to repair damages or to leave their storm-battered hulls for the ship-breakers to finish. But even this fine harbour has some of the disadvantages of Table Bay, as it lies so far to windward of the usual scene of disasters as to cause its attainment for repairs a most difficult and in many cases a hopeless task for both crews and ships. If a powerful steam-tug were stationed in Buffel's Bay during the winter months, ready to put to sea after a continuance of westerly gales, she would doubtless succour many vessels that have successfully buffeted the storm, and prevent them bearing up for some leeward port from their inability to beat to windward for Simon's Bay and safety against the very heavy swell which lasts for several days after a storm.

STRUYS BAY, ST. SEBASTIAN BAY, and FISH BAY are places in which tolerable shelter and safety may be found by disabled ships or vessels bound westward in heavy gales; but they afford nothing but temporary shelter, and it is advisable not to remain at anchor in either of them after the gales have subsided.

MOSSEL and PLETTENBERG BAYS are very similar in configuration and extent, and they afford excellent shelter in N.W. gales, but very few facilities for extensive repairs. A lighthouse showing a fixed red light points out the position of the former, and the latter is distinguished by a remarkable headland resembling a seal (Seal Cape) in outline, with a gap near the main land, and a very conspicuous broad sand patch down its middle on both sides.

ALGOA BAY.—This bay, from its geographical position, together with its facilities for repairing disabled ships and enabling them to proceed on their voyage, is without doubt the natural harbour of refuge for homeward-bound ships in the winter season. It merely requires a patent slip, and the bay at the Fishery affords shelter, with a very little outlay, for such a work, to raise this port to the elevation its importance demands. It is to the advantage of the shipping interest generally, and to this portion of the mercantile world in particular, that this work should be undertaken; and as this would make the port better known in the East, it would, without doubt, be the place of resort of most of the distressed ships for shelter and repair. A ship disabled off Cape Agulhas would find an easier and safer harbour of refuge by running back 300 miles to Algoa Bay, than by trying for Simon's Bay, which is 100, or for Table Bay, which is 130 miles to windward. Algoa Bay can be entered and shelter found, even in heavy weather, in the outer part of the bay in from 15 to 20 water, and very excellent shelter for two or three vessels is afforded by the Island of St. Croix until the weather has moderated and the harbour can be reached. As the present harbour works—under the shelter of which ships could be hove

down and repaired—have proved a partial failure, it becomes still more a necessity that the slip should be undertaken if Algoa Bay is ever to become the harbour of refuge which nature has designed it to be. Many vessels have been disabled between Port Natal and Port Elizabeth, and some have sought shelter in the former place; but the strong W.S.W. current which runs during heavy westerly gales as far as Port Elizabeth (frequently as much as 80 to 90 miles in 24 hours in the teeth of the gale)* renders Port Elizabeth far easier of attainment than Table or Simon's Bays are to vessels to leeward of those ports where no favourable current of any serviceable strength is found; and as the land is approached to the west of Agulhas, the current is frequently found setting to the eastward. Everything, therefore, combines to point to Algoa Bay as the refuge harbour for the south and east coasts of Africa. Nature has done everything necessary for it in this respect, and it remains for art to make it available for repairs to ships that seek its friendly shelter when disabled or in distress.

* *African Pilot*, second edition, p. 72, and from personal experience.

CLAIMS FOR COMPENSATION

AND LOSSES BY THE KAFIR WARS OF 1835-'47 AND THE
REBELLION OF 1851.

THESE claims, for which compensation has been constantly urged in innumerable petitions without effect, has been the subject of serious inquiry, and a Select Committee of the House of Assembly appointed to take evidence thereon and call for papers. The Report they brought up showed that peace had been made with the Kafir tribes on each of these occasions without enforcing anything like that full restitution the offenders were capable of affording for unprovoked aggressions, and the sufferers, although they had received promises of compensation, had never been relieved.

That for the war of 1835, after a partial compensation to some 800 persons out of captured cattle, there still remained 3,000 claimants, whose losses amounted to £291,392; that in 1846 the borderers, by another incursion of the savages, had sustained a loss in stock and other property (besides priceless lives) of the further sum of £525,592, in respect of which Governor Sir H. Smith, in his Minute of the 27th June, 1848 (in accordance with a despatch of Earl Grey to Sir P. Maitland, admitting that "undoubtedly the Colonists are entitled to expect such reparation for the losses sustained as the Kafirs are capable of affording") set apart the newly-acquired lands of Victoria and Albert for the purpose of affording compensation.

The claims for 1847, after a severe scrutiny, were found to amount to a sum no less than £406,002, and the Select Committee then recommended that measures should be taken to ascertain what portion of the lands so set apart are yet unapplied to any other purpose of Government, in order that the mode of distribution might be carried out without further unnecessary delay, and as regards the losses by the Rebellion of 1851, they should be investigated by another Committee.

No action resulting from the labours or recommendations of the Committee, or that of a similar one of the Legislative Council whose Report was also favourable, the matter was brought before the House of Assembly in 1860 on a motion to address His Excellency the Governor to take steps for the full settlement of such claims, which was rejected on a division. Another effort was subsequently made, but with the same fate, and therefore the innocent victims of an unjust policy, whose constant and timely warnings of impending troubles were disregarded by the Colonial Executive, complain, and it would appear not without some cause, that the country has been guilty of repudiation, and unfaithful to its engagements.

RANDOM REMINISCENCES OF THE CAPE.

BY MR. E. L. KIFT, OF PORT ELIZABETH.

PERSONS who have been resident in this Colony from forty-five to fifty years will confess to having witnessed very great changes, particularly at Cape Town. On my arrival there, early in the year 1823, I have reason to believe that not one house was furnished with any fire-place except that in the kitchen. In the old time all shops were in private dwelling-houses, and but for the frequent *Negotie Winkel* over the doors there was no indication that trade was carried on within. The first bow-window put in was by the late Mr. L. Twentymen, and that after the greatest opposition of his neighbours; indeed application was made to the late Burgher Senate to prevent such a disgrace to the *Heerengracht*. Law proceedings were also threatened, but in vain. The second was put in by the late Mr. Bridekirk, on the premises now occupied by Messrs. Jamieson and Co., but after Mr. B. retired from business the shop-front was removed. In those days shopkeepers took things very easy indeed. If customers called during dinner or siesta hours, they were told by the servant, "Master is eating," or "Master is sleeping," and were obliged to call again. Many will remember the times of prize negroes and slaves. Neither were permitted to walk the streets after sunset without a pass, and if after gun-fire (nine o'clock), an illuminated lantern was necessary to prevent a night's lodging in the tronk. When prize negroes were accused by their masters with any breach of duty, the master took the man or sent him with a letter to the late Wilberforce Bird, *Protector* of Prize Negroes, and who, I believe, invariably, without any inquiry, gave the master an authority to the tronk-keeper for the infliction of the lawful number of thirty-nine lashes. The guilty (or perhaps innocent) fellow was without delay tied to the whipping-post, and received the allotted number of stripes. Strangers passing that way often heard cries of "*Gedeide* (mercy) *Mynheer*," uttered by the unfortunates undergoing punishment.

Soon after my arrival in Cape Town, early in 1823, I witnessed a strange scene, and one that I believe has not since then taken place. A gentleman died in very embarrassed circumstances, leaving his widow and children without means of support, and the widow liable for a

serious amount of debt. A legal gentleman, well versed in old Colonial law, was consulted, and the result of his advice was as follows:—On the day of the funeral a large concourse of people, learning what was to take place, assembled. The hearse was brought before the door, the widow came forth, locked the door, and placed the key on the coffin; thus, by some almost forgotten law, being released from her late husband's debts.

During those times it was the practice when any respectable person was interred to have white sand strewn in the street from the house door to the grave-yard. But if one of the great folks died not only was sand used as I have described, but the procession did not leave the house until after dark, when each mourner was accompanied by his nigger with an illuminated lantern. The appearance of such a funeral was very strange to those not accustomed to it.

I may mention a singular practice which then and may perhaps still be recognized at Dutch funerals, and this was to engage two decently-dressed men (*trop schluters*) to form the last couple of mourners. The price paid for this service was according to the rank of deceased and means of the family. According to some authorities, the last couple took all the ill-luck supposed to wait on the last couple into and out of the grave-yard; others state that this practice was merely to prevent any *friend* being the last man in the funeral procession. No one liked to figure as the last at a funeral.

During the existence of the old Court of Justice very strange things took place and many diverting scenes occurred. I will relate one that caused much merriment at the time.

It was stated—whether truly or not, I cannot tell—that it was the practice of most of the members to take a quiet nap during the proceedings, and when a case was finished the crier roused each sleeper to give a verdict. It happened that one of the members had rather a smart dispute with his wife before he left home respecting the mode of dressing a fine Roman fish sent as a present from Simon's Bay. The lady went in for boiling, but her spouse insisted on its being fried. In the midst of the discussion the member was summoned to attend the Court. Very soon after he took his seat, as usual he dozed, and the scene of the fish dispute was revived in his dream, and just as a compromise was being made the crier roused him up and asked for his sentence against the prisoner, when he exclaimed in a loud voice, "Boil his head and fry his tail," to the great alarm of the prisoner and amusement of the Court.

A good deal has been written respecting the sex of the individual long known at Cape Town as Doctor Barry. I was intimately acquainted for several years with the Doctor, and always was of opinion that he resembled in his general figure a female more than a male. The late Mr. T. K. Deane and Doctors Deneke, Murray, and Arthur, principal medical officers, always looked on the Doctor with

suspicion. Not one of the Doctor's friends ever saw more of his bare person than face and hands ; his face was as smooth as that of any female of the same age. He generally employed Malay servants, who were never permitted to enter his bed-room when he was in it. Many traps were laid and stratagems tried to ascertain the sex of the Doctor, but in vain, and now it seems *she* eluded them until death.

Many will remember Hendrik Hegers, *alias* " Cheap John," who resided in Castle-street, celebrated for many strange sayings and doings, as well as by his very great kindness for many years to a gentleman named Walker, who years before possessed Hendrik as a slave. Hendrik managed to purchase his freedom and prospered in trade. But Mr. Walker came to grief and was destitute, when Hendrik brought him to his own house and kindly and handsomely provided for his former master as long as he lived.

NAMES OF MEMBERS CONSTITUTING FIRST CAPE PARLIAMENT, 1854.

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Western Province.

Hon'ble H. E. Rutherfoord.
F. W. Reitz.
Jos. Barry.
J. H. Wicht.
J. B. Ebden.
D. J. van Breda.
J. de Wet (Advocate).
H. T. Vigne.

Eastern Province.

Hon'ble Sir A. Stockenstrom.
R. Godlonton.
G. Wood.
H. Blaine.
W. S. G. Metelerkamp.
W. Fleming.
W. G. Joubert.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Cape Division.

J. M. Maynard.
T. Watson.

Cape Town.

H. C. Jarvis.
Dr. Abercrombie.
S. Solomon.
Dr. Biecard.

Beaufort.

J. C. Molteno.
Dr. Christie.

Clanwilliam.

Dr. Tancred.
J. H. Brand.

Caledon.

B. H. Darnell.
C. Fairbridge.

George.

J. Laws.
F. W. Swemmer.

Malmesbury.

W. Duckitt.
H. Loedolf.

Paarl.

P. F. R. de Villiers.
J. G. Steytler.

Stellenbosch.

P. Bosman.
C. J. Brand.

Swellendam.

J. Barry.
J. Fairbairn.

Worcester.

F. G. Watermeyer.
J. C. Wiggins.

Albany.

H. Bowker.
W. Cock.

Albert.

J. Vorster.
J. Meintjes.

Craddock.

J. Collett.
W. Gilfillan.

Colesberg.

J. C. Sieberhagen.
L. von Maltitz.

Fort Beaufort.

C. L. Stretch.
R. Painter.

Graham's Town.

J. C. Thackwray.
C. Pote.

Graaff-Reinet.

J. F. Ziervogel.
J. Muller.

Port Elizabeth.

J. Paterson.
H. White.

Somerset.

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